



Culturas, Identities e Litero-Línguas Estrangeiras

Revolução:
Antigos e Novos Paradigmas

Culturas, Identidades e Litero-Línguas Estrangeiras

Atas do II Colóquio Internacional
de Línguas Estrangeiras (CILE)

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Prefácio

Destacarmos a comemoração dos 500 anos da Reforma Protestante leva-nos a recordar a revolução cultural, intelectual e política que dela irrompeu. É indiscutível que a Reforma edifica um dos acontecimentos decisivos na história da Europa e do mundo, tendo influenciado profundamente a percepção teológica, histórica, mental e política da cultura ocidental em geral. O ideário da Reforma teve implicações não apenas religiosas, mas igualmente políticas, sociais, culturais e linguísticas, revestidas de um pendor revolucionário na medida em que a extensão das suas consequências foi vastíssima, patente, por exemplo, na criação da ideia de nação protestante, nacionalista e, sobretudo, baseada no sistema erastiano (e.g. a Grã-Bretanha). Por outro lado, gerou uma bipolarização no mundo, devido à Contrarreforma, liderada por Espanha e Filipe II, de cariz católico e tradicionalista, embora a ideia inicial fosse também uma transformação da Igreja.

Considerado um dos precursores do Iluminismo e da democracia, Lutero criou os alicerces para o conceito de cidadão responsável. Não descobrindo a liberdade moderna, intensificou a dialética em que a liberdade é reconhecível como um processo ambíguo. Associado ao humanismo, transformou a visão do homem dando maior ênfase à liberdade e responsabilidade do indivíduo, criando uma base para a participação social e política e imputando ao estado a responsabilização na educação escolar. Deixou uma marca profunda na sociedade, dando impulsos importantes no âmbito do ensino, da música, das artes e da língua com a tradução da Bíblia, promovendo assim um fortalecimento do diálogo intercultural para a aproximação das Culturas.

Ainda que numa época e contexto muito específicos, terá sido, como sublinha Timothy Garton Ash, criador deste neologismo (Herspring, 1994), uma *Revolução*, isto é, um processo de alteração política, social e económica que combina simultaneamente elementos da reforma, ou modificações estruturais, e elementos da revolução. Em vez de destruir totalmente os antigos sistemas, os novos sistemas políticos democráticos baseiam-se naqueles não só em termos de estrutura, como de pessoas. Este autor pretendia referir-se à Europa de Leste, nomeadamente Polónia, República Checa, Eslováquia e Hungria. Posteriormente, o neologismo passou a ser igualmente aplicado às primaveras árabes (cf. Keane, 2011). Esta amálgama acaba por ser “uma recusa radical da escolha entre revolução e reforma”, termos estes que se podem apresentar como particularmente sensíveis em determinadas culturas, devido à violência que ocorreu nas respetivas histórias nacionais e/ou locais. A palavra cunhada pretende afastar-se da violência inerente às revoluções, uma vez que as primaveras árabes, neste caso, se distinguiram pela recusa de os intervenientes enveredarem por reações violentas, típicas da lógica revolucionária. Outros aspetos distintivos residem na atenção colocada à civilidade, ou seja, no significado estratégico que a construção e defesa do espaço público implicam, manifesta, por exemplo, na integração de várias crenças religiosas no mesmo espaço, entre outros.

A Reforma Luterana, começando por representar um grito de protesto contra os abusos da Igreja Católica, acabou por ter implicações revolucionárias em todas as

áreas da vida humana que não apenas no campo religioso. Na senda da defesa contínua da liberdade humana e da proteção dos direitos fundamentais da humanidade, estes movimentos reformistas, com pendor revolucionário, têm a missão de renovar conceitos, ideias e valores que (refutam e) se impõem a paradigmas existentes. Desde 1517 a 2017, o mundo viu-se confrontando com alterações substanciais que moldaram o mundo, de Ocidente a Oriente. A sucessão de diferentes paradigmas ao longo dos tempos convocou em lugares e momentos distintos valores e ideias, cujo poder mobiliza culturas e gera conquistas ou fracassos.

Os trabalhos apresentados cumpriram, em número e qualidade, os objetivos e desafios inicialmente propostos. As áreas da cultura, da literatura, da tradução e da língua estiveram em destaque, abordando temas como o ensino das línguas e as novas propostas didáticas; a importância das primeiras traduções da bíblia como elemento reformista, mas ao mesmo tempo revolucionário, na estrutura social e política da Europa seiscentista e as implicações políticas, sociais e religiosas da Reforma, só para indicar alguns. Para nosso regozijo, as comunicações foram apresentadas em quatro línguas estrangeiras (LE), direta ou indiretamente: português (enquanto LE), inglês, espanhol e alemão. Podemos, pois, concluir que os resultados finais do colóquio ultrapassaram em larga medida as expectativas do nosso Departamento, pela diversidade e profundidade de temas trazidos ao debate, não apenas confinados à área das línguas estrangeiras, mas alargados a um espectro mais abrangente que é a área das humanidades.

Por conseguinte, alguns dos textos apresentados encontram-se aqui publicados, estando organizados em três grandes áreas temáticas, interdisciplinares, mas complementares, no âmbito das Línguas estrangeiras:

Novas tecnologias na sala de aula:

- **“Towards reolution in EFL classes: on harnessing the potential of blogs”**, da autoria de Alexandra Duarte e Mark Daubney, que destacam a importância dos blogues no ensino do inglês como língua estrangeira. As novas tecnologias, destacando o papel dos blogues, são vistas como potenciadoras de aprendizagem do inglês, nas suas múltiplas competências linguísticas, além de melhorar competências culturais e sociais.

Língua, Cultura e Literatura:

- **“La lengua española actual: el resultado de la revalorización de las lenguas vernáculas en la época de la reforma”**. Neste artigo, a autora, Carmen García Flores, analisa como a Reforma provocou uma revolução não apenas cultural, mas linguística, que alterou o papel e a importância social, política e cultural das línguas vernáculas, em detrimento da língua culta, o latim, nomeadamente o caso específico do espanhol. A necessidade crescente da transmissão de novas ideias e valores da reforma acompanhou a criação e desenvolvimento de gramáticas, livros (bíblicos e outros), fazendo com que esta transformação favorecesse a coesão e consistência do espanhol, hoje falado em 21 países.
- **“New Cultural Perspectives: Music as a Tool in the British Rock Band The Cult. An Ecocritical Approach”**. Enveredando por uma abordagem inovadora e pertinente nos nossos dias, a Ecocrítica, Maria Antonia Mezquita Fernández

explora e destaca a importância extrema da música como influenciadora de comportamentos sociais e culturais. Ao abordar temáticas ambientais nas letras das suas canções, a banda The Cult transmite mensagens manifestamente potenciadoras de transformação social e de mentalidades numa sociedade em alerta vermelho para as questões ecológicas.

- **“Towards the definition of National Identity: The Elizabethan Reformation and the Growth of Anglicanism”**. A autora, Carla Larouco Gomes, aborda reflexivamente a questão da Reforma isabelina e a imposição do anglicanismo como contributos decisivos para a consolidação de uma identidade nacional sustentada numa perspetiva nacionalista, erastiana e anglicana.
- **“Launching a Politics of Terror: The Provincetown Portuguese and the Ku Klux Klan”**. Neste artigo, Reinaldo Silva expõe um episódio marcante na vida dos imigrantes portugueses em Provincetown, Massachussets, destacando o impacto que o movimento Klu Klux Klan, racista e defensor do discurso da eugenia, teve na comunidade portuguesa, igualmente extensível a outros imigrantes católicos, ao praticar atos social e culturalmente discriminatórios e racistas que determinaram a presença da cultura portuguesa nos Estados Unidos da América.

Ensino de Línguas Estrangeiras

- **“Intercultural Communicative Competence – What you need to know to bring it on...”**. As autoras Maria del Carmen Arau Ribeiro e Josilene Silva Rodrigues dos Santos alertam para o aumento da perceção da importância da competência intercultural num mundo cada vez mais global e em que a valorização do outro e da diferença cultural devem ser cada vez mais promovidas tanto no contexto de sala de aula como fora. Apresentam, portanto, argumentos para o desenvolvimento da competência comunicativa intercultural nas aulas de língua estrangeira.

A todos os autores expressamos os nossos agradecimentos pela colaboração e disponibilidade manifestadas na publicação dos seus textos.

A Comissão Editorial

N.B.: Os artigos publicados neste Livro de Atas foram submetidos ao processo de dupla revisão cega por pares.

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Novas Tecnologias na Sala de Aula

Novas Tecnologias na Sala de Aula

Towards refolution in EFL classes: on harnessing the potential of blogs

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Abstract

We explore ‘Refolution’ through the ever-growing, powerful and inexorable influence of new technologies in society, and how it can inform an approach to using Web 2.0 tools in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classes – more specifically, exploring the potential of blogs. In this paper, ‘Refolution’, the process of incorporating changes into existing structures – with equal parts ‘reform’ and ‘revolution’ – is considered from these two perspectives. Firstly, the rapid development of new technologies provides educators with tools to engage disengaged pupils. Secondly, in language teaching, traditional methodologies have shifted to approaches focusing on greater communication and interaction. Yet the traditional four language skills - listening, speaking, reading, and writing - no longer suffice, with 21st century skills being essential for successful careers. Not only do blogs provide an interactive platform to develop both traditional language and 21st century skills, but blogging also involves exercising responsible citizenship, freedom, and questioning authority – key concerns of the Reformation, and still important issues 500 years on. We present an overview of our research that indicates that whilst EFL teachers recognise the potential of blogs, they also identify constraints on their use, both in and outside the classroom. We end with recommendations for increasing teacher engagement with blogs - a modest contribution to ‘refolution’.

Keywords: blogging, EFL classes, 21st century skills.

Resumo

Exploramos “Revolução” através da influência sempre crescente, poderosa e inexorável das novas tecnologias na sociedade e como ela pode enformar uma abordagem para o uso de ferramentas da Web 2.0 nas aulas de Inglês como Língua Estrangeira (LE) – especificamente, explorando o potencial dos Blogues. Neste artigo, “Revolução”, processo de incorporar mudanças – com elementos de “reforma” e “revolução” – em estruturas existentes, é visto de duas perspetivas. Em primeiro lugar, o rápido desenvolvimento de novas tecnologias fornece aos educadores ferramentas para motivar alunos desmotivados. Em segundo lugar, no ensino de línguas, as metodologias tradicionais mudaram para abordagens focadas numa maior comunicação e interação. No entanto, as quatro competências tradicionais já não são suficientes, sendo as competências do século XXI essenciais para carreiras bem-sucedidas. Os blogues fornecem uma plataforma interativa para desenvolver tanto a linguagem como as

competências do século XXI, e *blogging* envolve exercer cidadania e liberdade responsáveis e o questionar da autoridade - preocupações fundamentais da Reforma – questões ainda importantes passados 500 anos. Apresentamos, assim, uma visão geral de nossa pesquisa que indica que, embora os professores de Inglês LE reconheçam o potencial dos blogues, também identificam restrições – dentro e fora da sala de aula – relativamente ao seu uso. Terminamos com recomendações para incentivar a participação dos professores nos blogues – um modesto contributo para a “refoleção”.

Palavras-Chave: blogues, aulas de inglês como língua estrangeira, competências do século XXI.

1. Introduction

As part of the requirements for the Master’s in Pedagogical Use of Information and Communication Technologies, the first author carried out a research project focusing on blogging in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classrooms in Portugal. Whilst ‘blogging’ and blogs have become common expressions at all levels in society, the expression “weblog” was first defined by Barger (1999) as:

... a webpage where a weblogger (sometimes called a blogger, or a pre-surfer) “logs” all the other webpages he finds interesting. The format is normally to add the newest entry at the top of the page, so that repeat visitors can catch up by simply reading down the page until they reach a link they saw on their last visit.

This means that a web page is usually updated by its author(s) or contributor(s) and appears in reverse chronological order – with the most recent being first, and likely more visible. A community of bloggers rapidly emerged and there are now blogs on virtually every topic; one of their features is that they can foster comments from readers from a wide range of backgrounds.

For personal and professional reasons, the first author has long been a blogging enthusiast, which has significantly influenced the project in question. After enrolling on an online professional development course (PDC) in 2008, one of the outcomes was her first blog, a tutor blog (Campbell, 2003), which was a further incentive to pursue her own interests: those of technology, namely using free 2.0 Web (O’Reilly, 2005) tools, and the promotion of reading and writing in the EFL classroom. Later, for another PDC, she created a weekly reflective learner blog that was used as a tool to develop an educational digital portfolio. Her third creation was a class blog in which she was the administrator and her pupils were co-authors, free to publish what and whenever they wished.

Given these rewarding experiences of effective blogging and with a firm conviction of its pedagogical potential, the first author has consistently questioned why so few class (room)¹ blogs have been used in EFL classrooms in Portugal and the reasons for limited pupil participation when blogs are used in the classroom. Hence, the interest in understanding Portuguese teachers’ perceptions of using blogs in EFL classes.

¹ Class blogs, as opposed to classroom blogs, are not necessarily to be used in the classroom.

2. Web 2.0 refolution in language teaching and learning

The statement “We lived in farms, then we lived in cities, and now we’re gonna live on the Internet!”² captures the fast-paced and inevitable evolution of technology in general and educational 2.0 Web tools in particular, the confluence of which has brought about a constant ‘refolution’. It is in this sense that we interpret the notion of ‘refolution’ as a process of incorporating changes – incredibly fast-paced changes – combining parts of reform with aspects of revolution – into existing structures. The shift from Web 1.0 – only readable and static – to Web 2.0, enabling the contribution of users, has profoundly changed the way we use the Internet, interact with others and access information and knowledge.

In education, the essential difference between the two Web generations is that while in the past content creators were relatively scarce and the majority of Web 1.0 users were largely passive consumers, now the Web is relentlessly dynamic, and virtually all users can become creators due to the existence of so many tools and platforms, which in turn increases both democratisation and 24/7 activity. Regarding class blogs, this shift is of the utmost relevance since both pupils and teachers can take an interactive and creative role in blogging activities. Further, since all publications are available online and freely accessed by everyone, parents can also follow what is being taught at school and even engage with comments.

The Internet is now a ubiquitous and pervasive aspect of our lives and does not show any signs of slowing down, with Richardson (2006) having pointed towards its potential over a decade ago:

The social connections that students are now making on the Web, the ability to truly extend the walls of our classrooms... the ideas are at the core of this new Web. As educators, it’s imperative we understand the implications of these capabilities for our classroom. (p. viii)

In acknowledging such implications, educators have been applying Web-based tools in educational settings in an attempt to provide pupils with greater choices and more flexible learning alternatives (Ariffin & Yaacob, 2014). This is particularly true in relation to language teaching and learning as a way to harness the creative use of technology to generate both more interaction and learner participation.

All these changes raise questions *vis-à-vis* the role of the language teacher when our world is changing so fast and everything can be easily accessed on the Internet. Hence, the relevance of the skills pupils need to acquire in order to succeed in the 21st century. According to *The Glossary of Education Reform*³, the term ‘21st century skills’ “(...) refers to a broad set of knowledge, skills, work habits and character traits that are believed – by educators, school reformers, college professors, employers, and others – to be critically important to success in today’s world (...)”. In the 21st century, the four traditional skills (reading, writing, speaking and

² Quote from the 2010 movie, *The Social Network*, directed by David Fincher, based on the rise of Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook.

³ At <http://edglossary.org/21st-century-skills/>, last accessed December 28, 2017.

listening) will consequently no longer suffice. According to the National Education Association (NEA) (2014), if today's pupils want to succeed in the future, they must also be proficient communicators, creators, critical thinkers and collaborators. The 4 additional Cs (Communication, Creativity, Critical Thinking and Collaboration) emphasise the complexity and globalisation of today's world and "need to be fully integrated into classrooms" (NEA, 2014, p.6). Whilst crucial to education, this is not a new idea, as acknowledged by Juliani in a recent blogpost⁴ or as ably demonstrated by Sir Ken Robinson in his animated version of "Changing Education Paradigms"⁵. It is therefore urgent, on the one hand, to captivate pupils' interest in school and avoid alienating them⁶ and, on the other hand, to prepare them for a new reality in terms of the job market – and preparation for some jobs that, presently, do not even exist⁷. In order for pupils to forge their own paths with creativity and grit, schools need to be reimagined: learning spaces, school subjects and methodologies have to change so as to equip pupils with new skill sets.

The need for new skill sets has assumed greater urgency due to indications that employers are becoming more demanding, with job seekers facing new challenges regarding applications and selection criteria. Some companies are focusing less on a candidate's academic achievements in order to give "every applicant the opportunity to demonstrate their potential, creativity, strengths and ideas, regardless of their background" (Sherrif, 2016). This means that the focus is shifting from what the candidate knows to what they can do. From this perspective, blogs can provide an online space for meaningful learning, to promote communication and collaboration among peers or with an international audience, enabling pupils to show how creative and critical they can be in their entries and comments. As Mitra (2017) points out, "It's not about making learning happen; it's about letting it happen. The teacher sets the process in motion and then sits back in awe and watches as learning happens".⁸ Refolution, then, is about allowing traditional actors in the classroom – teacher and pupils – to co-construct success by providing pupils with a skill set that allows them to face the challenges of our fast-changing society.

After the emergence of the first blogs, it did not take long for teachers

⁴ Juliani, A. J. (2017, February 05). 21st Century Skills Have Always Been "Needed" Skills, But Now We Need Them More Than Ever. Retrieved December 28, 2017, from <http://ajjuliani.com/are-we-waiting-too-long-to-give-students-a-choice-in-their-learning/>

⁵ RSA Animate: *Changing Education Paradigms*. (2010, October 14). Retrieved December 28, 2017, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zDZFcdGpL4U>

⁶ As pointed out by Sanches, A. (2016, March 15). "A escola mudou pouco, os adolescentes mudaram muito". Retrieved Dec 28, 2017, from <https://www.publico.pt/2016/03/15/sociedade/noticia/a-escola-mudou-pouco-os-adolescentes-mudaram-muito-1726244> and Santos, J. P. (2016, April 7). "A Escola e a Quarta Revolução Industrial". Retrieved December 28, 2017, from <https://ionline.sapo.pt/503581?-source=social>

⁷ Written by Jenny Soffel, Website Editor, World Economic Forum. (2016, March 10). What are the 21st-century skills every student needs? Retrieved December 28, 2017, from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/03/21st-century-skills-future-jobs-students>. This website entry not only presents the skills that will be needed most but also compares the top 10 skills needed in 2015 and 2020 in a summarised way.

⁸ Mitra, S. (2013, February). Build a School in the Cloud. Retrieved December 28, 2017, from https://www.ted.com/talks/sugata_mitra_build_a_school_in_the_cloud

worldwide to apply the promising potential of this new tool to their own school practice (Bartlett-Bragg, 2003; Campbell, 2004; Downes, 2004; Godwin-Jones, 2003; Luján-Mora, 2006; Ward, 2004 and this has led an increasing number of educators, teachers and academics around the world to implement educational blogs (a.k.a., edublogs) and edublogging projects with different age groups, from kindergarten to high school and higher education (Amir, Ismail & Hussin, 2010; Duarte, 2015; Huang, 2016; Hungerford-Kresser, Wiggins & Amaro-Jimenez, 2012; Montero-Fleta & Pérez-Sebater, 2010; Sun, 2010; Sun & Chang, 2012).

In terms of skills to be nurtured and harnessed when learning languages, Chen (2015), along with other authors (Deng & Yuen, 2011; Gomes, 2008; Li, Bado, Smith & Moore, 2013; Meinecke, Smith & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2013), has identified edublogging as beneficial to language skill practice, metacognitive skills and intercultural competence.

In relation to language skill practice, reading and writing are usually high priorities for teachers and, in L2 learning contexts, blogging is thought to improve vocabulary and grammar (Vurdien, 2013), while blogs are viewed by Switek (2016) as “writing laboratories”. Huang (2016) highlights the importance of motivation and states that “the asynchronous nature of blogs benefited them [pupils] in reading, writing, editing, and giving comments on their own postings as well as their peers” (p. 43).

Metacognitive skills, an awareness of one’s own thinking, are seen as crucial in today’s complex society in which pedagogy has to adapt in order to better support the acquisition of 21st-century skills (Scott, 2015) through the use of Web 2.0 technologies (Morgan, 2015). Such technologies require new skills – the 4 Cs previously mentioned, along with problem-solving skills – not only to be used in the here and now, but also to prepare pupils to face the challenges of an ever-changing world of work. By undertaking autonomous, reflective and collaborative learning tasks – through which they may be challenged to think about their own cognition – and involving pupils in blogging projects, teachers are helping to create affordances to develop these much-needed skills.

Developing intercultural competence is a key objective in language teaching, and using blogging as part of a school project, for example, can encourage pupils to communicate with peers from different language and cultural backgrounds, which in turn boosts the exchange of ideas, interaction (Meinecke et al., 2013), and the co-construction of learning. At the same time, these powerful and memorable cross-cultural experiences can help promote positive attitudes of respect, understanding and acceptance towards differences around us. With a blogging project, such practices may be further enhanced since the potential audience may increase significantly. Furthermore, intercultural competence may aid the development of metacognitive skills, as exchange programmes and projects that involve contact with the other can be used as a springboard for pupils to reflect on how their own ways of thinking are deeply influenced by the culture of their own countries and regions.

It is also worth noting that the current job market is underpinned by constant collaboration, so participating in blogging projects may not only foster pupils’ intercultural awareness, but also enhance learning and promote active global citizenship.

3. Research rationale and design

Given the benefits of using blogs cited in the literature, the aim of the research project focused on better understanding teachers' perceptions of using blogs in EFL classes in Portugal. The research questions were as follows:

1. What are the perceptions of Portuguese EFL teachers of the potential benefits – for teachers and pupils – of using blogs?
2. To what extent are blogs being used by Portuguese EFL teachers in their English classes?
3. What are some of the constraints on EFL teachers using blogs for learning?
4. How can teachers and pupils be encouraged to use blogs more as part of their EFL teaching and learning respectively?

The research project was largely carried out by using a quantitative approach, with questionnaires as the main instruments of data collection. This was undertaken in different phases: firstly with an exploratory questionnaire; then a pilot questionnaire; and finally with the application of the final and main questionnaire. Figure 1 below reflects the three phases of the research methodology:

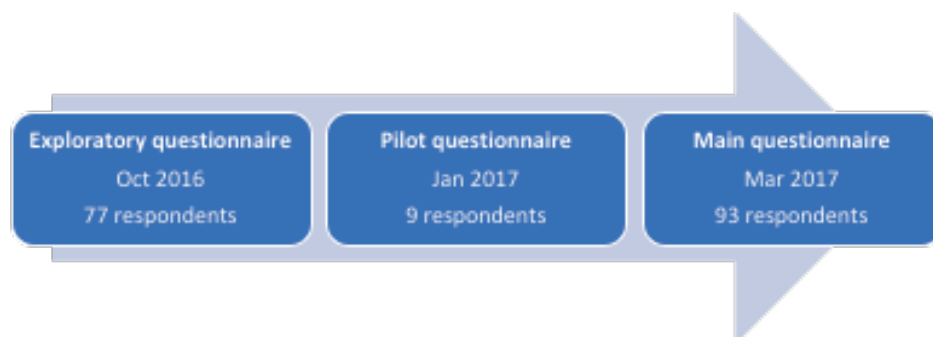


Figure 1: Overview of data collection phases

In October 2016, the project began with the application of two exploratory questionnaires to gather general information and help identify key issues that could be addressed in the questionnaires of the following phases. They mostly included open-ended questions to elicit concerns of EFL teachers regarding new technologies and to probe for feedback in relation to their knowledge about blogs. These printed versions of the exploratory questionnaire were completed by a total of 77 participants in two regional seminars organised by the Portuguese Association of English Teachers (APPI, the *Associação Portuguesa de Professores de Inglês*).

Based on the data collected from the exploratory questionnaire, notes from a research log and further reflection, in January 2017 a pilot questionnaire was applied to all EFL teachers in a 2nd and 3rd CEB school in the Leiria region. In accordance with the approach advocated by Dörnyei (2003), the administration of a pilot questionnaire similar to the target population of the main questionnaire enables items to be changed, others refined and new ones added. The pilot questionnaire

was largely designed with closed questions, Likert scale items, opinion scales and lists of indicators, whilst the last two items were open-ended questions, which aimed to tap into the teachers' own words, feelings and reflections, so rich information and new insights could be collated. This mixed questionnaire style is justified by Dörnyei (2003) thus:

(...) by permitting greater freedom of expression, open-format items can provide far greater “richness” than fully quantitative data. The open responses can offer graphic examples, illustrative quotes, and can also lead us to identify issues not previously anticipated. (p. 47)

The main questionnaire therefore aimed to collate relevant information in a systematic manner (Dörnyei, 2003) from a much broader sample. Unlike the previous questionnaires, the main questionnaire could only be accessed online: in a time-, effort-, cost-effective way it was designed to collect a significant amount of information from a greater number of respondents and their points of view concerning their use of technology, blogs and suggestions/alternatives for classroom practice.

This main questionnaire was ready in March 2017, and APPI's assistance was requested to disseminate it to its members. While all APPI members are EFL teachers, the target population of my research, only APPI has the email addresses of its members and, consequently, only APPI could send out the questionnaire to their members across Portugal (mainland and islands). As Dörnyei (2007) points out, Web-based research allows access to “specialised populations which would otherwise be difficult to reach” (p. 121) and ensures a high level of anonymity, thus greater likelihood of honesty. In addition, by providing a hyperlink and a 3-week window to complete the questionnaire, it was hoped that the absence of a tight deadline would ultimately contribute to the validity and reliability of the answers. By the deadline of March 29th, 93 questionnaires had been completed and registered. Although APPI has over 3000 members, it was not possible to verify how many of these had actually received the email. Nevertheless, given the exploratory nature of this study, the cohort of nearly 100 members completing the questionnaire within the 3-week window was considered a positive number for our research purposes.

4. Data Analysis and Discussion of Results

Whilst 26 questions were analysed quantitatively, the two final open questions were subject to an interpretative-qualitative analysis. As previously indicated, there were 93 respondents to the main and final questionnaire, 22 of which answered the total of 26 closed questions. In case the respondents answered negatively to having ever created a blog, they were automatically taken to a different question. This distribution can be seen below in Figure 2, with 24% respondents having created at least one blog and 76% who answered they had never created a single blog:

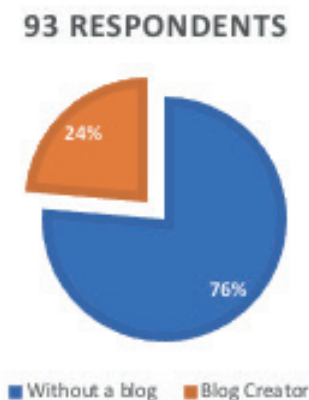


Figure 2: Distribution of respondents

Out of the 93 respondents, the majority (88.2%) describes having similar equipment, that is, one computer per classroom, the teacher's desktop. When asked about blogging, namely on whether the respondents themselves were blog readers, 60.2% claimed they read education-related blogs. However, when asked about using blogs in their own EFL classes, a similar number (59.1%) do not, indicating that despite reading blogs, the respondents do not necessarily use them in class.

It is also interesting to note what the minority of blog users do with blogs in class: 33.3% stated they used blog texts to research examples on grammar and/or current issues. This limited view of the potential of blogs in an educational setting disregards the practical use of this teaching and learning tool which can be successfully used, synchronously or asynchronously, and across age groups for a variety of purposes. As such, "(...) blogs are like television: potentially a terrific tool, but often just pedestrian entertainment," (Yin in Kaur & Bala, 2016, p. 161). Indeed, only a minority (20.4%) deploy blogs in other, potentially more exciting and engaging ways, namely agreeing to let pupils blog during classes (1.1%), commenting on one another's entries during classes (7.5%) and accessing other blogs during classes (11.8%). The incentive of comments is crucial for pupils' involvement, for pupil-centred learning and for making the whole learning experience memorable. As such, these blog uses should be seen as positive and inspirational examples of good practice.

Of the original cohort of 93 respondents, 24% claimed to have already created a blog. This relatively low number of blog creators together with an even lower number of links shared by respondents suggests an overall lack of blog activity and may further imply that these respondents find it challenging to maintain an active blog, with possible factors underlying these low levels of activity such as demotivation, being overburdened with school commitments or being placed in a different school at the beginning of each school year. Irrespective of these factors, and taking into account the types of blogs listed under *Catálogo BloguesEDU*⁹, it does appear that, in

⁹ Accessible at http://portal.dasescolas.pt/portal/server.pt/community/04_catalogo_blogs/284, it was

general, blogs do not involve pupils, tend to be short-lived and are used for one-way communication, when they are conversational in nature and provide opportunities for further learning. These characteristics are supported by the responses to the question concerning the kinds of blogs they have created. In terms of authorship, neither the choice for professional/tutor blogs, with school information and resources for pupils (36.4%) nor teacher/learner blog(s), created as a digital portfolio on a teacher development course (36.4%), seem to do enough to engage other learners, as they are solely created and administrated by the learner/blogger.

Class blog(s), with the teacher as the administrator and pupils as co-authors (27.3%), is the one option that aims at equal participation and communication, encouraging creativity and instilling critical thinking. This “participatory culture” is defended by Jenkins (2011), who believes in the importance of including the more creative work being carried out in new media literacies into formal education.

From these respondents, only one teacher (4.5%) affirms having a class blog that incorporates pupils’ individual blogs.

When asked about the reasons for embracing blog creation, responses vary greatly, with “To foster pupils’ autonomy”, “To extend teaching/learning outside of the classroom and instil reading and writing habits” and “To motivate pupils” being the highest ranked. As for the benefits of blogging, respondents do appear to view this as a question for their teaching, therefore seeing little reflection on their own skills and performance. However, this might suggest that rather than focusing on themselves and the benefits to their own teaching practice, these respondents may view the potential benefits of blogging from the point of view of their pupils. For these respondents, then, blogging may well be a means to an end, a tool to support learning, with no specific goals or expectations for themselves but rather a focus on promoting their pupils’ educational success.

The total cohort of 93 respondents also indicated their opinion on the reasons for the paucity of Edublogs, namely class blogs, with the size of classes – a long debated issue in Portugal – and slow Internet connections in many schools being the highest ranked explanations (73.2% and 70% respectively). Somewhat surprisingly, only 56.8% of respondents perceive blogging in and of itself as being a time-consuming constraint, and consider excessive school administrative tasks (69.9%) to be a more significant influence for not getting involved in blogging. 59.2% of respondents refer to their lack of training in ICT, with a significantly higher percentage (68.9%) specifically citing their lack of confidence in creating and managing blogs, which would appear to indicate that professional development would be desirable in this area. 63.4% point to the lack of technical support and means to support teachers’ endeavours as another constraint in what concerns the creation and use of class blogs.

launched on March 10, 2011, under the responsibility of “Equipa dos Recursos e Tecnologias Educativas” (ERTE) and the tutelage of the Ministry of Education. In their own words, “(...) destina-se a todos os docentes que queiram publicar e divulgar o seu blogue revelando trabalho realizado com os alunos. No Catálogo, o docente terá acesso a um conjunto de blogues utilizados nos diferentes níveis do ensino básico e secundário, em distintas áreas disciplinares e que são divulgados como exemplo de boas práticas”. Retrieved from <http://www.erte.dgicd.min-edu.pt/bloguesedu>. (28.12.2017)

5. Further Discussion

A picture that emerges from this small-scale study is that despite having access to technologies and being aware of the potential of blogging, this does not appear to be enough to encourage teachers to introduce this activity into their classroom practice. Teachers and pupils need to harness this technology and, in order to move towards a ‘refolution’ in the EFL classroom, the apparent gap between the potential benefits and reality needs to be bridged. Based on the data collected from the questionnaires, several factors were identified which were then grouped into four categories to assist analysis. All these factors are interconnected, but, for the purposes of clarity, they are placed in the different categories. In Figure 3 below, the constraints influencing teachers’ practice – as identified through their perceptions – can be seen.

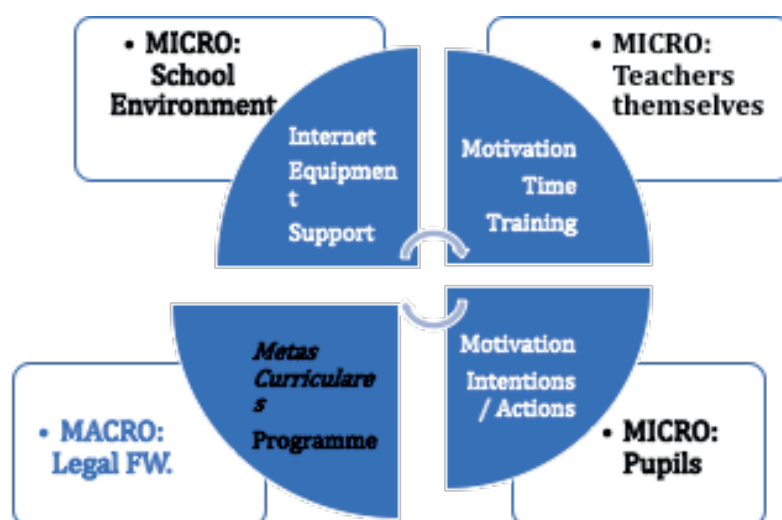


Figure 3: Macro and micro factors identified in teachers’ perceptions

The constraints which impact teachers’ perceptions on blogs and blogging in EFL classes in Portugal can be found at both a micro and macro level. The three micro factors – *School Environment*, *Teachers themselves* and *Pupils* – exist in the local context, that is, within the school community itself. The school environment seems to exercise a significant influence as it may determine whether or not good practices are even started when many Portuguese schools lack updated, functioning technological equipment, digital infrastructures and support. Another micro factor indicates that teachers themselves often lack the motivation, time and adequate training on blogs and blogging. Finally, levels of pupil motivation may negatively impact on their own intentions to act. In other words, pupils often express their enjoyment and acknowledge the learning potential of blogging, but then do not subsequently engage, either with entries or comments. In the absence of such systematic use, and without having the necessary resources in the classroom, both teachers and pupils may end up losing interest and abandon any incipient initiatives to engage further.

Pupils' motivation is indeed a crucial issue that deeply affects Portuguese teens and is getting worse based on a study by the World Health Organisation: Portugal ranks 33rd with only 11% of boys and 15% of girls expressing their fondness for school. The same study also emphasises that Portuguese teens lack autonomy which should be encouraged to give blogging greater consideration¹⁰.

Unlike the aforementioned micro factors, the school community has little control over the key macro factor – the legal framework governing state schools. The requirements of the Portuguese education system necessitate the implementation of the curricula programmes and objectives. In Portugal, the pressure to carry out the requirements of English as a Foreign Language curricula programmes and objectives is likely to be a constant in schools, and innovative practices, such as the use of blogs, may become less of a priority for many teachers, especially in the final academic year of each cycle when teachers are focusing on preparing pupils for exams, as well as administering and correcting them. Such constraints, then, are likely to mitigate the levels of enthusiasm needed to introduce innovative practices which could be deemed pertinent to the principles of reformation.

6. Recommendations for Reformation

Having emerged over the last two decades as a relatively recent addition to the resources available to teachers, an argument can be put forward that the potential of blogs might well, in fact, encourage changes to attitudes and behaviour that were sought after in the Reformation, approximately 500 years ago. Equity and inclusion, for example, by providing free access to education for all, regardless of gender or status; the encouragement of parental engagement, thus leading to further learning and interaction; proficiency in foreign languages which enables us to engage with other cultures and to learn to respect the other; critically, at a time when authoritarian and populist forces are gaining greater traction in many societies, blogs also have the potential to promote critical thinking, the questioning of sources and authority in an open, constructive way, thereby encouraging the democratisation of knowledge and concerted action.

In order for reformation and innovative practices to be implemented on a wider basis in EFL classes in Portugal, Portuguese schools need more concerted government intervention regarding digital infrastructures for faster connectivity, updated, functioning technological equipment to replace that which is often obsolete, as well as specialised support. Teachers themselves need professional incentive, which could be increased by greater career opportunities, and a reorganisation of administrative tasks and timetables to allow teachers interested in further developing their ICT skills to pursue their goals. Appropriate training is also needed for teachers to update their skill sets and knowledge so as to be better placed to teach 21st century learners. Time made available for training and innovative practices are of paramount importance as are technical support and smaller classes.

However, it is not straightforward to get pupils blogging and one of the open

¹⁰ Please see <http://www.op-edu.eu/files/2016-04/publico.png> (last accessed 28.12.2017)

questions in the final part of the main questionnaire was aimed at collecting suggestions from respondents on ways that teachers can boost pupils' interest and participation in blogs. Taking into account the respondents' ideas, as well as principles and ideas shared in this paper, possible activities aimed at integrating blogs more systematically could include the following:

- Scaffolding blogging activities, based on pupils' ages and abilities so the activities engage all learners with issues that matter to them. These should be varied, directed and well structured, narrow enough to guide our pupils, but also broad enough to allow them some freedom to develop their ideas and express their opinions;
- The assignment, scheduling and assessment of blogging tasks to ensure continuous participation. Pupils should be accountable for their publications (though always under the instructor's supervision, including e-safety issues¹¹);
- Cultivating an audience is vital, but takes time. Potential bloggers have to be patient as with the initial phases of using any new tool. However, as familiarity and confidence increase, demands on a blogger's time decrease (Zawilinski, 2009). Whilst cultivating an audience may take time, it will be the bloggers' commitment which determines whether a blog remains "active, fresh and as interactive as possible"¹²;
- Educators and pupils alike could also consider creating audio and/or controlled video versions of their blog posts, which would likely enhance pupil engagement. However, given the current apprehension of sharing pictures of pupils, teachers could opt for a flipped classroom, with one of the benefits being that they would be more easily accessible, and therefore inclusive, to pupils with different learning styles and/or learning difficulties, such as special needs pupils with dyslexia or visual impairments;
- Allowing pupils to freely post their blog entries and thus encourage greater pupil involvement and participation. As teachers are free to post blog entries, pupils should also be allowed to do so, thus empowering learners, developing autonomy and creating a sense of achievement and ownership.
- Blogging, then, is highly challenging but also rewarding for teachers and pupils when combined with effective pedagogy. As indicated in this paper, there is a significant number of persuasive reasons for integrating blogging projects into classroom practice. Given the inexorable advance of technology, and the need to move towards the gradual and sustained introduction of innovative practices, it is incumbent upon 21st century teachers to engage disengaged pupils, enabling them to discover their talents and passions, and in the process move us along and beyond the path of refolution needed in EFL classes.

¹¹ See Wespieser (2015) <https://www.nfer.ac.uk/publications/LLGR01/LLGR01.pdf>

¹² Respondent's contribution

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La lengua española actual: el resultado de la revalorización de las lenguas vernáculas en la época de la Reforma

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Resumen

La Reforma supuso la puesta en valor de las hablas del vulgo. Los mensajes iban dirigidos a un tipo de público que no conocía la lengua de la cultura, el latín, y por ello se empiezan a considerar las lenguas maternas como herramientas esenciales para la difusión de las nuevas ideas. Merced a todo ello comienzan a surgir las gramáticas de estas lenguas con la intención de sistematizar la lengua para poder transmitir mensajes escritos coherentes. El presente trabajo mostrará un panorama general sobre este fenómeno en lo relativo a la lengua española y cómo favoreció que esta no se quebrase y que se expandiera de manera exponencial. Aunque España ya tenía dominios más allá de la Península Ibérica, la lengua española nunca se había consolidado de la manera que lo hizo tras el descubrimiento de América. Y a este hecho contribuyó de una manera decisiva la importancia que habían adquirido las lenguas vernáculas durante la Reforma, la aparición de las gramáticas de estas lenguas, la imprenta y la aparición de libros escritos en estas mismas lenguas. Todo ello favoreció que hoy en día el español sea una lengua materna y cohesionada en veintiún países.

Palabras clave: lengua vernácula, descubrimiento de América, sistematización de la lengua, difusión del conocimiento.

Abstract

The Reformation enhanced the language of common people. The messages were addressed to an audience ignorant of the language of culture, Latin, and so mother languages were considered as essential tools for the dissemination of new ideas. Therefore, there arose the grammars of these languages, systematizing them so that they could transmit coherent writings. This paper will show a general panorama on this phenomenon, in relation with the Spanish language, and how it was one of the reasons of its unity and expansion. Though Spain had domains beyond the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish language had never consolidated as it did after the discovery of America. The importance of the vernacular languages, enhanced by the Reformation, contributed decisively to that fact, as they did the arising of grammars, printing and books in those languages. All that favored that Spanish be currently a cohesive mother tongue in twenty-one countries.

Keywords: vernacular language, discovery of America, language systematization, knowledge dissemination.

Introducción

La llegada de las naves de Colón a América supuso el contacto entre diversas

gentes que hablaban lenguas muy distintas. Ni Colón ni los suyos sabían antes de la existencia de los indígenas, ni los indígenas sabían que existían los europeos, lo que supone que el primer encuentro verbal tuvo que ser traumático por ambos lados. Una vez superadas las sorpresas del encuentro, tuvieron que surgir maneras de entendimiento que sirvieran para organizar el caos que el encuentro súbito e inesperado supuso. En Europa, durante este primer periodo, se está gestando la Reforma desde diversos lugares; en los reinos de España también aparecen grupos críticos con la vida de lujo del clero, que comienzan tímidamente a demandar unas formas más humildes de profesar la fe católica. En 1517 Lutero hace públicas sus tesis y de ellas se hacen eco humanistas de toda Europa; de alguna manera, este hecho va a influir en la predisposición que los evangelizadores destinados en el Nuevo Mundo adoptaron al decidir realizar esta evangelización en la lengua de los indígenas. Evidentemente, se impone una razón práctica ante todo. Para un mejor entendimiento de la fe hay que explicar la religión en la lengua de aquel a quien se pretende evangelizar. Este hecho entra en total consonancia con los reformistas que defienden el uso de las lenguas vernáculos en los asuntos religiosos, para que estos se aproximen al vulgo sin intermediarios.

Las primeras gramáticas de las lenguas indígenas son del siglo XVI y comienzos del XVII, coincidiendo en la fecha con el concilio de Lima de 1583 en el que se establece que la evangelización de los indígenas se haga en sus lenguas y no en castellano ni en latín. El presente trabajo quiere hacer una reflexión sobre el papel que pudieron tener las ideas reformistas en la evangelización del Nuevo Mundo, porque la coincidencia en el tiempo hace suponer que debió de haber una relación lógica. Las circunstancias propiciaban que los religiosos más descontentos con la corriente oficial se embarcaran hacia América, para allí tener más libertad y menos control sobre sus prácticas evangelizadoras. A pesar de que desde los comienzos el Santo Oficio está presente y se realizaron procesos contra clérigos por no respetar la ortodoxia, lo razonable es pensar que estos inquisidores no podían tener acceso a todos los lugares en los que se estaba produciendo la evangelización por lo abrupto y lo intransitable de los caminos.

Las efemérides son fechas que sirven para detenerse en el pasado y prestar un poco más de atención. La enseñanza del castellano en América coincide con la enseñanza de otras lenguas vernáculos en Europa, y los evangelizadores ven de manera natural la elaboración no solo de gramáticas castellanas, sino que defienden, en pro de la labor evangelizadora, la elaboración de gramáticas de las lenguas indígenas, como la gramática quechua o la aimara. Y van incluso más allá, ven del todo natural y beneficioso para la causa traducir los dogmas de la iglesia a estas lenguas; y consiguen para ello el beneplácito de personajes tan defensores de la fe católica como lo fue Felipe II.

El trabajo se dividirá en cuatro partes: una primera en la que se contextualizará el periodo en el que se produce el descubrimiento de América; una segunda parte que expondrá los problemas y soluciones que surgen en los primeros contactos; una tercera parte en la que se tratará sobre la Reforma y su relación con las personalidades que intervienen en la evangelización de América; la cuarta parte tratará sobre el papel de la Iglesia en el proceso de evangelización y de castellanización; se terminará

con una conclusión. La bibliografía utilizada es mucha y diversa y se ha querido hacer un ejercicio de relación; tal vez pueda resultar que se han forzado estas relaciones, pero esto no es sino una hipótesis de trabajo, para poder ahondar más, en un futuro, sobre el tema.

En definitiva, este trabajo parte de unas inducciones provocadas por ciertas lecturas, que tienen una lógica coherente, pero no es más que un esbozo que trata de relacionar una época de la historia de la lengua española con el estado actual de dicha lengua.

1. Contexto histórico

Las naves de Colón llegan a América en 1492; pero para que eso se produzca han tenido que suceder otros avances técnicos y culturales.

El humanismo supone el reencuentro con el hombre; el antropocentrismo reconcilia al hombre con el hombre, el ser humano se coloca en el centro del meollo y se le da una dimensión casi divina. La ciencia experimenta un avance importante; también la ingeniería naval. Se crean nuevas rutas y se mejoran las ya existentes. Todos estos adelantos hicieron posible que Colón se arriesgara a emprender la aventura de las Indias por una nueva ruta, y todo ello hace posible que de forma inesperada se encuentre con un nuevo continente.

A esta aventura se irán sumando muchas personas, movidas por los relatos, las crónicas y las leyendas de los que ahí van; y también animadas por una cierta propaganda interesada en reclutar hombres, sobre todo (ya que es escasísimo el número de mujeres en comparación con el de hombres que se deciden a emprender el viaje hacia «las Indias»), para la causa. Jesús Paniagua Pérez (2008) presenta el carácter medieval de los primeros colonos que llegan a América. En su estudio pone de manifiesto cómo los elementos medievales sirven de impulso y condicionan el relato de quienes viven esta nueva experiencia.

La actividad americana fue una forma de revivir la pasión medieval que suponía la literatura caballeresca. Los relatos imposibles en tierras encantadas, donde la fuerza de la virtud y la pasión tenían carácter sobrenatural, eran ahora posibles. (Paniagua, 2008, p. 145)

Es una época de cambios en la que conviven lo medieval y lo moderno. Es la época también de la Reforma, de intentos de reformar una institución, la Iglesia Católica, para hacerla más próxima a las doctrinas cristianas. Los movimientos reformistas surgen dentro del seno de la Iglesia Católica: Lutero era fraile agustino. Los reformistas son hombres de religión que quieren acercar más la religión al hombre, quieren «humanizarla», ya que consideraban que la Iglesia estaba alterada por el poder y el boato y así no podía servir como vínculo entre Dios y el individuo. Proponen nuevas praxis que la Iglesia no va a aceptar y este desencuentro origina el cisma total entre reformistas luteranos y calvinistas, de un lado, y la Iglesia Católica, de otro, apareciendo así las corrientes protestantes perseguidas por esta, que las ve como una amenaza a su poder. Carlos V se convierte en adalid del catolicismo y bajo

su reinado se intensifican los tribunales del Santo Oficio por todos sus territorios. Leandro Martínez Peñas (2012), en su estudio sobre la actuación del Santo Oficio en los Países Bajos a las órdenes de Carlos V, apoyándose en la legislación dictada por el emperador, habla del papel de defensa de la ortodoxia que adopta Carlos V para salvaguardar su propio poder.

Luteranos y calvinistas, si bien protestantes ambos, presentaban diferencias teológicas y de actitud frente al poder central encarnado en el gobierno de Bruselas, hasta el punto de que incluso, en aquellas ciudades con importantes colectivos de ambas confesiones, la convivencia entre los seguidores de Lutero y los de Calvino fue sumamente conflictiva. Lutero defendía, como postulado general, la sumisión ante las autoridades y rechazaba el uso de la violencia. Para Calvino, por el contrario, el principio de obediencia quedaba limitado a la esfera de las relaciones personales, defendiendo, en cambio, el derecho de los magistrados a alzarse en armas contra aquellos reyes cuyo gobierno deviniera en tiránico. (Martínez Peñas, 2012, p. 45)

Desde los comienzos del descubrimiento de América, la Iglesia otorga poder absoluto a los Reyes Católicos sobre los territorios recién descubiertos. El Papa Alejandro VI les concede la potestad sobre los territorios americanos a través de las Bulas de donación. Constanza López Lamerain (2011) expone cuál fue la relación entre la Iglesia y el poder a lo largo del primer siglo del descubrimiento de América y la importancia que tuvo esta relación en los protocolos educativos y evangelizadores de los primeros comienzos. A este estudio se volverá más tarde para detallar en qué términos se teoriza sobre cómo tiene que producirse la evangelización de los indígenas.

América se presenta como un inmenso territorio de complicado acceso en el que se necesitan religiosos para evangelizar a las sociedades recién descubiertas; no sería de extrañar que algunos clérigos optaran por realizar su labor evangelizadora lejos del control constante sobre sus actitudes personales.

2. Problemas en la Conquista

Uno de los principales problemas es el lingüístico. El continente que se encuentran los colonizadores es un inmenso territorio poblado por distintas sociedades que hablan diferentes lenguas incomprensibles. Ese problema va a dificultar que el primer contacto sea armonioso. Las luchas se suceden por la incapacidad de negociación. Esto provoca desconfianza y una predeterminación a atacar al contrario en las situaciones en las que el mensaje no está siendo bien entendido.

Según el estudio ya mencionado de Jesús Paniagua Pérez (2008), los primeros colonizadores estaban movidos por ideas medievales, producto de sus lecturas o de la propaganda que los había animado a realizar el viaje a las Indias. Eran personas provenientes de las clases medias urbanas. Carmen Marimón Llorca (2006) dice lo siguiente:

En cuanto al origen social de los colonos, Lipski (1996, 54-56) afirma que, mayoritariamente, la población que emigró a América estaba formada por un conjunto heterogéneo que podría calificarse de clases medias urbanas. A este grupo pertenecían los segundones de las familias nobles, los artesanos expulsados, las familias desposeídas de sus bienes además de algunos reos a los que se les conmutaban las penas. Apenas sabían leer y escribir y, una vez establecidos, se limaban las diferencias pues se ganaban la vida como marineros, pequeños propietarios, artesanos, empresarios, etc. Hablaban un español poco rústico —los campesinos tuvieron muy poca ocasión de viajar— que fácilmente absorbía los cambios niveladores pero que, al mismo tiempo, se hacía arcaizante en las zonas más aisladas de los núcleos de poder e irradiación lingüística. (Marimón Llorca, 2006, 2.1, §3)

Según los dos estudios anteriores se puede interpretar que eran personas poco acostumbradas a la diplomacia y con unas ideas antiguas sobre lo que sería la invasión de nuevos territorios y el contacto con los nuevos habitantes. Sirva como ejemplo Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a quien Luis Sáinz de Medrano define así:

Lo que sí cabe destacar es la significación de Bernal, como representante genuino del conquistador del siglo XVI. Como bastantes otros, no es un oscuro hombre de la plebe, sino vástago de una familia de claro linaje y alguna fortuna. instado a buscar gloria y provecho material en la fascinante y arriesgada empresa americana. (Sáinz de Medrano, 1992, p. xxiv)

Las expectativas de los colonos eran conseguir prebendas; cuando esto no era así, se producía el enfado y la queja. La *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* es una denuncia en la que se expone que muchos de los beneficios que se pensaban obtener en las tierras americanas no se consiguen; y es por tanto una obra que nace desde el enfado y la ira. Eran personas que consideraban algo lógico y natural que les concedieran territorios, con todas las riquezas y personas para poder negociar con ellas, como parte merecida de su labor de contribución al imperio.

Con este talante, la relación entre colonizadores y colonizados no podría haber llegado nunca a buen puerto.

3. La Reforma

La Reforma supone dentro de la Iglesia una nueva visión, una nueva manera de entender a Dios, desde el individuo, ya que la Reforma es un movimiento que nace con el Humanismo, y sus protagonistas son personas influenciadas por la corriente humanista. Intentan reformar la Iglesia, limpiarla de aquello que ellos consideran pernicioso y que la ha alejado del verdadero mensaje cristiano.

Las tesis de Lutero denuncian las indulgencias que los clérigos vendían a los feligreses. Los reformistas reivindican que el mensaje bíblico tiene que ser directo, sin intermediarios. Este hecho va a contribuir al desarrollo de las filologías, ya que se traducirán Biblias a las lenguas vernáculas. Estas traducciones son posibles gracias a la aparición de las gramáticas de las lenguas a las que se traducen esos textos. La

primera gramática española aparece en el año 1492 y da pie a una amplia producción de materiales encargados para enseñar la lengua castellana como lengua extranjera. Carlos V fue un gran defensor de la lengua castellana y ordenaba que la evangelización de los amerindios se realizara en esta lengua y no en otra, con el afán de convertir al castellano en la lengua del imperio, siguiendo con ello los deseos que Nebrija exponía en el preámbulo de su *Gramática*, cuando se la presentó a los Reyes Católicos.

Desde los comienzos de la colonización se tuvo en mente la evangelización de las poblaciones colonizadas. El poder delega dicha tarea en la Iglesia y comienzan a dirigirse hacia el nuevo continente clérigos y frailes procedentes de distintas congregaciones. Estos religiosos solían ser personas alfabetizadas y tal vez vieron en esta expedición una forma de poder ejercer su evangelización de manera más libre. El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición había sido fundado por los Reyes Católicos en 1478 con el propósito de velar y hacer guardar la pureza de la comunidad cristiana. Perseguía la herejía por considerarla una importante amenaza para esa pureza. Pero no solo trataba asuntos religiosos sino que perseguía también conductas personales que consideraba desviadas de la moral católica, tales como la bigamia, la homosexualidad o el bestialismo. También perseguía la brujería, la blasfemia o la superstición.

América se presenta como un inmenso territorio, de acceso difícil y que no garantiza una vida cómoda, como aquella a la que podrían estar acostumbrados algunos frailes y clérigos en Europa. Los religiosos que optan por ese viaje incierto tienen que estar movidos por razones muy profundas. Desde luego la evangelización lo es y a ella se dedican con los pocos medios de los que disponen.

Esta evangelización, en todo su proceso, está muy relacionada con la enseñanza del castellano: son los religiosos quienes se van a dedicar en la mayoría de los casos a la castellanización de los indígenas.

No es temerario crear un vínculo entre los religiosos que optan por el viaje al nuevo continente y las ideas reformistas del momento. Las crónicas van dejando pistas, a pesar de que cualquier tipo de herejía, de desviación de la ortodoxia, era duramente reprimido dentro de la Iglesia Católica. La actitud de los religiosos ante las poblaciones nativas es bien diferente a la actitud que muestran los soldados.

Dos personalidades nacidas en la misma ciudad, Medina del Campo, muestran a través de sus crónicas posturas diferentes sobre el indígena. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, en su obra *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la nueva España*, considera a la población indígena como parte del botín, sin detenerse en mayores reflexiones. En cambio, José de Acosta, que nace cincuenta años después y vive todo el debate religioso del momento, en su obra *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, hace una reivindicación del indígena. Esta reivindicación viene originada por la convivencia continuada que el jesuita tiene con los indígenas, viene también de la molestia de haber conocido su entorno geográfico y sus sistemas de organización social y religiosa. Entre los dos personajes, Bernal Díaz del Castillo y José de Acosta, hay una diferencia de cincuenta años, y a través de la obra de ambos se aprecia un cambio radical en la manera de abordar el tema de la conquista. El soldado reclama su recompensa, mientras que el clérigo reclama la dignidad del indígena. Si la primera postura sirvió para el exterminio, la esclavitud y la rebelión de los indígenas, la segunda sirvió para un acercamiento y la

creación de un diálogo y un encuentro entre dos maneras diferentes de actuar. Pero no todos los religiosos coetáneos a José de Acosta encomendados a evangelizar América tenían las mismas opiniones. En una época en la que confluyen varias visiones, esta variedad de ideas también llega a América. No está, pues, fuera de lógica, suponer que los religiosos que mostraban una predisposición a considerar al indígena como un ser en igualdad de condiciones que los propios conquistadores, estuvieran influidos por las corrientes humanistas y reformistas que se estaban gestando en Europa; y no es tampoco demasiado atrevido presuponer que, debido al papel tan opresor que había adoptado la Iglesia en defensa de la ortodoxia, algunos clérigos optaran por su viaje a América para poder actuar, en conciencia con su ideario, más libremente. La fuerte persecución que la Iglesia ejerció sobre todo indicio de herejía hacía que los religiosos con un ideario reformista, pero que no tuvieran vocación de mártires, fueran muy cuidadosos con sus escritos y sus actuaciones. Hay que entresacar de los documentos indicios que manifiesten cómo las corrientes reformistas se instalaron en América de una manera sutil, pero efectiva. Y estas corrientes son las que van a facilitar la evangelización del indígena y su castellanización.

Porque hay que tener en cuenta que el actual español de América no es solo la evolución de la lengua de los primeros colonos y de sus descendientes, los criollos, sino que es la confluencia entre diferentes hablas¹³ y en la realización del castellano de los indígenas colaboró la Iglesia por mediación de sus evangelizadores.

4. El papel de la Iglesia en el proceso de evangelización y castellanización de los indígenas

Esteban Sánchez Solano (2016) hace un balance historiográfico sobre las misiones y se detiene en el periodo que nos ocupa. Y basándose en una amplia bibliografía expone que:

Estos autores han tratado de ubicar desde lo ideológico hasta lo institucional la forma en que las misiones tuvieron un papel “civilizador” y al mismo tiempo constructor de intercambios culturales, sociales, intelectuales, económicos, etcétera, en el seno de los imperios coloniales (español, portugués y francés) en la larga duración, junto al papel protagónico de la Iglesia con la *Propaganda fide* como corolario de su visión mundial misionera moderna. (Sánchez Solano, 2016, p. 15)

El papel mediador de la Iglesia está pues ampliamente estudiado en todos los aspectos, y también en el aspecto lingüístico. Los métodos y las praxis son

¹³ Carmen Marimón escribe: «La frase “español de América” hace, pues, referencia, al conjunto de variedades dialectales que se hablan en el continente americano. Algunos autores como José Moreno de Alba (1988) prefieren utilizar la expresión “español en América” para hacer referencia a la realidad lingüística americana. El cambio de preposición no es baladí y supone una clara toma de postura a favor de la unidad global del español como lengua que, desde este punto de vista, debería entenderse como un conjunto de variedades diatópicas de la misma lengua. Como afirma Manuel Alvar (1996), no hay un español de España y un español de América sino una *langue* y muchos hablantes». (Marimón Llorca, 2006, 1, §2)

lo que determina la ideología de cualquier enseñanza. Pues bien, se ve que las recomendaciones hechas para la evangelización de las sociedades indígenas abogan para que sean las lenguas vernáculas las lenguas vehiculares de dicha evangelización, porque de otra forma el mensaje no se produce. Esta idea es muy novedosa con respecto a la idea medieval de Cruzada: la defensa de las cruzadas todavía está vigente en la época del Padre José de Acosta, quien siente una profunda preocupación cuando conoce en México al Padre Alonso Sánchez y los métodos que este usó en su evangelización en el sur de China. El Padre Alonso Sánchez era partidario de que para evangelizar había que recurrir a las armas.

Los misioneros que viajan al nuevo continente conviven con los indígenas, se mezclan con ellos; esa convivencia aparece reflejada en las obras que estos misioneros escriben sobre los modos de vida y los sistemas políticos que se encuentran en el Nuevo Mundo. Y esta convivencia va a condicionar la manera en que conciben la evangelización.

Y una de las primeras premisas con las que parten es la necesidad de aprender las lenguas indígenas. Fernando Polanco (2000) trabaja sobre dos crónicas para analizar qué lenguas y de qué manera las utilizan los misioneros para la evangelización durante el siglo XVI. Una de ellas es la del Padre Motolinía, que Polanco define de la siguiente manera:

La *Historia* de Motolinía es una buena muestra de crónica misional, centrada casi exclusivamente en la narración del proceso evangelizador de la Nueva España. No es de extrañar, pues, que abunden las manifestaciones explícitas sobre ese proceso. La riqueza descriptiva de la obra pone de relieve aspectos relacionados con la didáctica misional, detalles de un gran valor historiográfico que nos permiten conocer mejor las pautas seguidas en el adoctrinamiento de los indios. (Polanco, 2000, §7)

Y del autor nos dice lo siguiente:

[...] aunque la mayoría de estas afirmaciones no deja de ser una resonancia de las tesis de un religioso *desautorizado* por sus coetáneos y, en especial, por un hombre como Motolinía, proindigenista pragmático, «porque él (Bartolomé de Las Casas) no procuró de saber sino lo malo y no lo bueno, ni tuvo sosiego en esta Nueva España ni deprendió lengua de indios ni se humilló ni aplicó a les enseñar (a los indios). (Polanco, 2000, §7)

Motolinía era un misionero proindígena en la línea del ya citado José de Acosta y de tantos otros en cuyas manos el poder político delegó la misión evangelizadora. Además tenía muy claro que para que se produjera la evangelización los indígenas tenían que comprender los mensajes:

La lengua es menester para hablar, predicar, conversar, enseñar, y para administrar todos los sacramentos; y no menos el conocimiento de la gente, que naturalmente es temerosa y muy encogida. (Citado en Polanco, 2000, §8)

Esta idea de la importancia de la lengua para entender el mensaje religioso coincide

con las ideas que al respecto manifestaba Lutero. Lo que parecía una provocación, años después se convierte en una idea que se trata con total normalidad. En las crónicas tratadas por Polanco se pueden ver algunas prácticas didácticas realmente novedosas que utilizaban los misioneros:

La evangelización del indio no se limitó a la enseñanza de las figuras más importantes del dogma católico y de sus principales oraciones, sino que fue mucho más profunda. Y para ello se aprovecharon todos los recursos disponibles. Se creó, de esta manera, una didáctica nueva, una forma de adoctrinar que fundía excelentemente los criterios tradicionales de la enseñanza teológica con la improvisación y la elaboración de nuevas estrategias pedagógicas surgidas del contacto directo con la cultura indígena, dando a luz una nueva manera de aprovechar los conocimientos y las enseñanzas del Evangelio. (Polanco, 2000, §24)

Esa evangelización va unida a la enseñanza del castellano a los indígenas y el propio Motolinía expresa lo vital que es esta enseñanza para poder llevar a cabo la evangelización.

En la obra de Motolinía, como hemos visto, no aparece la imagen del indio lengua, puesto que eran los mismos misioneros quienes desempeñaban esa función. Sin embargo, la mediación de los niños indios en el proceso evangelizador es, para él, de vital importancia ya que, una vez catequizados, se convertían en transmisores ideales de la doctrina católica entre su propia gente. (Polanco, 2000, §14)

En el estudio de Polanco se ponen de manifiesto dos puntos de vista. Las crónicas de Lizárraga no son tan amables con los indígenas como las de Motolinía, su experiencia no resulta tan positiva y dice de ellos:

un ánimo el más vil y bajo que se ha visto ni hallado en nación alguna (...), es gente cobarde, si la hay en el mundo, de donde les viene lo que a todos los cobardes, son cruelsísimos cuando ven la suya. (Polanco, 2000, §17)

Felipe II considera oportuno crear un concilio que exporte al Nuevo Mundo los preceptos del Concilio de Trento. Encarga la misión al jesuita José de Acosta, quien redacta las actas del III Concilio de Lima, intentando poner orden y unificar, en todo el territorio de la archidiócesis de Lima, la evangelización.

Esto tenía lugar en 1583, casi cien años más tarde de que arribaran las primeras naves de Colón, lo que quiere decir que hasta este intento no había habido una sistematización de la evangelización ni unas normas claras por las cuales guiarse.

Según Constanza López Lamerain (2011) los asuntos que se acuerdan en el III Concilio de Lima son:

- La creación de un catecismo que unificara la enseñanza de la fe de los indios. Se publica en 1584.
- Se ordena transmitir la doctrina en las lenguas indígenas del Perú. Se traduce el catecismo al quechua y al aimara.

- Alejar a los hechiceros.
- Crear escuelas para enseñar español.

Anteriormente a ello, en otros concilios se había ordenado el aumento de obispos en la zona, la creación de nuevas escuelas y templos, una nueva regulación para los diezmos.

La normativa que se implanta en el Nuevo Mundo trata de evitar los abusos de los clérigos y se preocupa en que el mensaje de la Iglesia se haga claro entre los indígenas. Para ello se adoptan dos medidas: la evangelización en las lenguas vernáculas y la enseñanza del castellano. Por medio de esa enseñanza es como los indígenas, especialmente los niños, adquieren la nueva lengua y es como la van mezclando con la suya propia.

Setenta años después de la publicación de las 95 tesis de Lutero, algo había cambiado en la filosofía de la propia Iglesia Católica. Al menos eso es lo que se observa en las disposiciones que se ordenan en los diferentes concilios de Lima: la evangelización en las lenguas vernáculas más habladas. Constanza López Lamerain hace la siguiente reseña:

La importancia de la comprensión de la lenguas indígenas al momento de enfrentarse a la misión vuelve a repetirse en la Acción II, Capítulo 6: Que los yndios aprendan en su lengua las oraciones y doctrinas: «El principal fin del catecismo y doctrina christiana es percibir los misterios de nuestra fée, pues con el espíritu creemos interiormente para ser justificados lo que interiormente confesamos con la boca para ser salvos, conforme al Apóstol, y así cada uno ha de ser de tal manera instruido que entienda la doctrina, el Hespagnol en romance, y el yndio también en su dlengua, pues de otra suerte, por muy bien que recite las cosas de Dios, con todo eso se quedará sin fruto su entendimiento como lo dice el mismo Apóstol. Por tanto ningún yndio sea de oy mas compelido a aprender en latín las oraciones o cartillas, pues les basta y aún les es muy mejor saberlo y decirlo en su lengua, y si alguno de ellos quisieren podrán también aprenderlo en romance, pues muchos le entienden entre ellos, fuera de esto no hay para que pedir otra lengua ninguna a los yndios». Vargas Ugarte, Rubén, *Concilios... op. cit.*, Tomo I, p. cccxxv. (López Lamerain, 2011, p. 59, nota 22)

La importancia de la música para la transmisión del dogma es una cuestión que también se trata en este concilio:

Últimamente, porque es cosa cierta y notoria que esta nacion de yndios se atraen y provocan sobremanera al conocimiento y veneracion del summo Dios con la ceremonias exteriores y aparatos del culto divino; procuren muchos los obispos y también en su tanto los curas, que todo lo que toca al culto divino se haga con la mayor perfeccion y lustre que puedan, y para este effecto pongan Studio y cuydado en que aya escuela y capilla de cantores y juntamente musica de flautas y chirimías y otros ynstrumentos acomodados en las yglesias. Lo qual todo ordenarán los obispos en los lugares y por la forma y modo, que juzgaren ser a mayor gloria de Dios y ayuda spiritual de las almas. (Citado en López Lamerain, 2011, p. 61)

En cuanto a la castellanización se dice:

Tengan por muy encomendadas las escuelas de los muchachos los curas de yndios y en ellas se enseñe a leer y a escribir y lo demás y principalmente que se abecen a entender y hablar nuestra lengua española y miren los curas que con ocasión de la escuela no se aprovechen del servicio y trabajo de los muchachos, no les enbien a traer yerva, ó leña, pues encargan en esto sus conciencias con obligación de restituir. Enseñen también la doctrina cristiana a los niños y niñas, y no les ocupen en sus aprovechamientos, mas despídanlos temprano para que vayan a sus casas, y sirvan y ayuden a sus padres, a los cuales guarden respeto y obediencia 28. (Citado en López Lamerain, 2011, p. 62)

Así mismo también se exigía lo siguiente:

Que no se reciba nada de los indios cuando se confirman, Que se provea a los yndios de confesores extraordinarios, Que no se lleve nada de los indios cuando se les administren los sacramentos, Que nadie deje la doctrina de indios antes de tener sucesor, Que se señale cura a los que andan en labor de minas o en obrajes, De los tres novenos que se deben a las parrochias y hospitales de yndios, Que las faltas de Doctrina se deben aplicar para las iglesias de los yndios, Que no vayan clerigos a conquistas de yndios sin especial licencia, Que los curas no se entremetan en los bienes de los yndios defunctos, La pena en que incurrn los curas de yndios que contractan o grangean. (Citado en López Lamerain, 2011, p. 65)

Enseñar en las lenguas vernáculas, desaconsejar el uso del latín, adaptar el catecismo a la realidad de los indígenas, prohibir que la Iglesia se aproveche de la hacienda de los indios. Casi un siglo después del descubrimiento, las normas que desde el poder y la Iglesia se imponen para la evangelización del Nuevo Mundo se nutren en cierta medida de lo que los reformistas reclamaban. La nueva situación requería nuevos métodos. Ya no eran válidas las cruzadas, porque se habían producido cambios importantes, también de mentalidad. Se puede decir que la Iglesia había adoptado, por interés propio, en 1580, medidas que los reformistas demandaban sesenta años antes, y que ya desde las primeras décadas del siglo XVI algunos misioneros adoptaron y se había visto que daban mejores resultados.

Carlos Garatea (2013) centra su mirada en el receptor, cuando aborda el tema del aprendizaje del español por los pueblos andinos. El receptor, para Garatea, es el que crea la forma particular de las hablas españolas en América y dice:

son los receptores, los indígenas peruanos o los de cualquier otra zona del continente, quienes fueron obligados a adoptar otra lengua, otra cultura y quienes promovieron el surgimiento de nuevas variedades de español, por ejemplo el llamado español andino, y fueron ellos, los receptores indígenas, quienes dieron otro entorno pragmático a las tradiciones europeas trasladadas al Nuevo Mundo. (Garatea, 2013, pp. 40-41)

Más adelante añade

el receptor es parte del contacto. Pero no es un ser pasivo sino que es tan activo como los emisores, no obstante las diferencias de lenguas y culturas. El receptor interviene en la actuación del emisor guiando las elecciones y las modalidades de enunciación que resultan pertinentes en el acto verbal; en ocasiones, ese receptor, inicialmente ajeno, promueve adaptaciones y cambios en los modelos importados, debido a que instaura nuevas exigencias comunicativas, al mismo tiempo que adopta y difunde la lengua y la cultura españolas en otro espacio geográfico y social, sin dejar por ello de promover innovaciones en la lengua del conquistador. (Garatea, 2013, p. 41)

De acuerdo con estas premisas, es lógico pensar que los misioneros que aprendieron la lengua de los indígenas se convirtieron también en receptores y contribuyeron así mismo a transformar su lengua meta. El diálogo entre indígena y misionero se convierte en una constante variante de dos lenguas de partida, que sufren constantes alteraciones, y de alguna manera causa más tolerancia ante las inexactitudes o los errores de los interlocutores, ya que ambos son partícipes del mismo proceso de aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera.

Garatea señala que el indio es obligado a aprender la nueva lengua, cerrando la posibilidad a un deseo por parte del indio de aprenderla. Parece que la relación entre los indígenas y los misioneros fue mucho más amable que la relación entre los indígenas y los soldados. Son los misioneros quienes en sus crónicas reivindican las cualidades de los indígenas, los que se esfuerzan en mostrar una versión del indígena que lo dignifique. Una lengua lleva un arduo proceso de aprendizaje; no es fácil obligar a nadie a aprenderla, especialmente en la edad adulta. Para que se produzca el aprendizaje de una lengua tiene que haber una fuerte motivación, ya sea económica, social o emocional. No es atrevido insinuar que el papel mediador de los religiosos más cercanos a las ideas humanistas pudo servir para despertar la motivación entre los indígenas para su aprendizaje de la lengua castellana. Y no es arriesgado pensar que el propio hecho de que los misioneros aprendieran las lenguas indígenas pudo servir de ejemplo y acicate para que el indígena se ocupase en el aprendizaje de la lengua castellana. Si los soldados habían mostrado un papel predominante sobre los indígenas, los misioneros dieron una imagen más afable del otro, del conquistador, con un trato más cercano, con un intento de integración en sus costumbres y con un esfuerzo de aclimatación; y esto pudo servir para la difusión de la lengua española entre las sociedades indígenas, incluso entre aquellas que vivían a espaldas de los soldados y de la administración. Es cierto que esta castellanización no llegó a todas las zonas e incluso hoy en día existen zonas en las que no se habla español. Pero en todas las realizaciones americanas del español se encuentran rasgos de las lenguas indígenas, ya sean léxicos, sintácticos o fónicos; en todas en mayor o menor medida las lenguas indígenas han dejado su impronta porque no interfieren en la comunicación con el otro, porque el otro también se tomó la molestia de adentrarse en sus propias realidades lingüísticas.

5. Conclusión

Tal vez por eso la historia del español de América y el lugar de contacto en esa historia son ventanas que nos invitan a observar personas, seres humanos hablando con otros seres humanos, no entelequias regulares ni previsibles. Sin embargo, lo que todavía vemos hoy son espejismos o nuestros reflejos en un pasado que nos es ajeno. (Garatea, 2013, p. 58)

El presente trabajo ha querido dejar abierta una ventana que nos invite a observar esa historia del español en relación con las mentalidades que la Reforma pudo despertar entre los evangelizadores castellanos que se fueron al Nuevo Mundo.

La colonización supuso la toma del poder castellano sobre buena parte del continente americano. Ese poder, desde sus comienzos americanos, se preocupa por la evangelización de las nuevas sociedades y también por la castellanización de los indígenas. El poder político español en América termina en el siglo XIX. La Reforma es un movimiento que tiene sus comienzos en la Edad Moderna y que continúa en el tiempo, como aún no ha terminado el proceso de castellanización de las poblaciones americanas. Ambos fenómenos están aún en construcción, porque tanto la religión como la lengua son fenómenos humanos que se van amoldando a las circunstancias de los grupos humanos que los impulsan.

El español de América - o los españoles de América - es heterogéneo, aunque se puede decir que las diferencias en las realizaciones del español no interfieren la comunicación entre todos sus hablantes; no obstante, un importante número de hispanohablantes americanos podrían desconectar del español porque disponen de otros recursos lingüísticos para sus realizaciones verbales: aimara, quechua, inglés...

El espíritu humanista que los reformadores religiosos utilizaron cuando intentaban acercarse al otro, en su lengua, pudo servir para paliar la brutalidad militar que los indígenas sufrían en manos del poder militar. Pudo también suceder que el contacto con personas que les inspiraban confianza sirviera de motivación para aprender el castellano.

De los documentos estudiados para la elaboración de este trabajo se ha visto cómo los primeros religiosos adaptan el catecismo a la realidad indígena; además de traducirse, estos catecismos también hacen versiones que recogen el imaginario indígena para que el mensaje cristiano sea mejor entendido. La cantidad de elementos indígenas en el español de América hace suponer que esos americanismos eran completamente comprendidos por todos los interlocutores. Las primeras escuelas de castellanización están organizadas por los religiosos y, dadas las circunstancias particulares europeas de los primeros años de la conquista americana, pudo suceder que un importante número de religiosos optara por aventurarse a la nueva empresa americana para así tener más libertad de acción y menos control por parte de la Inquisición. Las disposiciones que se dictan a mediados y finales del siglo XVI están en consonancia con las reivindicaciones que a principios de dicho siglo Lutero exigía en sus tesis. La Iglesia americana adoptó nuevas pedagogías y metodologías que sirvieron para castellanizar, respetando las realidades sociolingüísticas de cada grupo social con el que trabajaba.

Los centenarios y las efemérides sirven no solo para recordar unos hechos o personajes históricos, sino también sirven para hacer una reflexión sobre el pasado. Este trabajo es eso: una reflexión sobre dos inquietudes personales, la Edad Moderna y la lengua española. Es una hipótesis de trabajo que enlaza las corrientes humanistas que adoptó la Iglesia en ese periodo de la historia con la creación y siguiente desarrollo del español en el mundo.

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New Cultural Perspectives: Music as a Tool in the British Rock Band The Cult. An Ecocritical Approach

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Abstract

The last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century have brought new changes and cultural perceptions in the music field. Economic, political and social issues have transformed our conception of the world. Moreover, it becomes evident the idea that some rock bands express their beliefs through music. They even use music as a tool to denounce social or political injustices and to defend the world, especially the natural universe. In this sense, music may be a powerful instrument to cause an influence on people's thought. A clear example of the previous statements is constituted by the British rock band The Cult. The four members of the band are extremely interested in social problems and, at the same time, manifest a profound love of nature, to which they feel attached too. Consequently, this paper will be focused on the visions of nature and the world depicted in their lyrics from an ecocritical stance. Through Ecocriticism – and using the concepts of sense of place and environmental justice – we will see wild places and local ancient traditions are prevailing elements in their lyrics. We will also observe how they are aware that we should take care of our world.

Keywords: Ecocriticism, The Cult, Music, Sense of Place, Environmental Justice.

Resumen

Las últimas décadas del siglo XX y de principios del XXI han traído consigo una ola de cambios y enfoques culturales que afectan al ámbito de la música. Los temas económicos, políticos y sociales han transformado la concepción del mundo en el que estamos inmersos. Asimismo, es evidente el hecho de que algunas bandas de rock manifiestan sus ideas a través de la música. Incluso usan la música como un instrumento para denunciar injusticias políticas y sociales y para defender el planeta; especialmente el universo natural. En este sentido, la música puede influir directamente en el modo de pensar de la gente. La banda británica de rock The Cult constituye un claro ejemplo de lo anterior. Los cuatro miembros se muestran sumamente interesados en los problemas sociales y demuestran un profundo amor por la naturaleza, a la cual sienten muy cercana. Por ende, el presente artículo tiene como fin analizar la visión de la naturaleza en las letras mediante una óptica ecocrítica. A través de la disciplina de la Ecocrítica, y tomando como base los conceptos de sentido del lugar y justicia medioambiental, observaremos cómo la naturaleza y las tradiciones antiguas son elementos que prevalecen en las letras de la banda. Veremos también cómo el grupo es plenamente consciente de la necesidad de cuidar nuestro mundo.

Palabras clave: Ecocrítica, The Cult, música, sentido del lugar, justicia medioambiental.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Humanism changed our perspectives on the world and developed a philosophy centred on the human being and knowledge. Its main pillars were those of individualism, subjectivity, tolerance and freedom. The movement constituted a turning point in Western thought and values and its legacy continues to this day. Participating actively in social and political issues and defending freedom are the values inherited or derived from Humanism which remain in our time, since the Humanist Philosophy was focused on a more anthropocentric point of view. Society has progressed rapidly and, as a result, economic, political and social issues have transformed our conception of the world. The last decades of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century have brought new changes and cultural perceptions in Literature, Philosophy and even in the field of music.

Taking into account the idea that music may be a tool to denounce social or political injustices and to defend the world, the author of this paper attempts – by looking at examples included in the group’s lyrics and some interviews – a better understanding of the messages sent by the British rock band The Cult. The four members of the band are extremely interested in social issues and we will observe how they raise their voice to denounce discrimination and inequality. One such is the case the American Indians, to whom they have dedicated a significant proportion of their lyrics. At the same time, they manifest a profound devotion to nature, to which they also feel attached. Consequently, this study will focus on the visions of nature and the world depicted in their lyrics from an ecocritical stance. Through Ecocriticism – and using the concepts of Sense of Place and Environmental Justice – we will observe that wild places and local ancient traditions are prevailing elements in their songs.

In a world dominated by the media and New Technologies, messages arrive fast and produce diverse reactions. The “ownership” of Power is more diversified and it is not only the ideas of politicians or leaders that can be considered or contemplated. And yet, these traditional leaders have learnt to take the opportunity to leverage the advantages of technology. As maintained by Timothy Garton, “[i]n our time, the sources of fact-fixing are mainly to be found at the frontier between politics and the media. Politicians have developed increasingly sophisticated methods to impose a dominant narrative through the media” (2009, xiv). Furthermore, he continues by stating:

On the bright side, video cameras, satellites as well as mobile phones, voice recorders and document scanners, combined with the technical ease of uploading their output to the world wide web, create new possibilities for recording, sharing and debating current history – not to mention archiving it for posterity. (2009, p. xv)

Above and beyond, “[t]he digital era brings both acceleration along and convergence of two previously distinct lines of communication: one-to-one and one-to-many” (Garton, 2016, p. 11). In light of this, music, now transmitted speedily thanks to the digital era, is a powerful element that is used to change people’s behaviour or thoughts and music acts one-to-many. It is noticeable that many singers and bands send messages throughout their songs and, obviously, their lyrics contain a more

profound meaning than the one perceived when first heard. These messages are mostly used to provoke an effect and a reaction in people who listen to them. In many cases, when such a reaction takes place, it can be inferred that music has an enormous influence on those who understand the message. With this in mind, we must not forget that music is a factor that should not be left aside, since:

If we define culture as its broadest as “a way of life”, then it also becomes clear that to restrict the study of cultural products to a small handful of approved texts runs the risk of omitting a great deal. (...) [T]hen, a whole range of cultural products and artefacts are become available for analysis. (Campbell and Kean, 2012, p. 6)

Such is the case of the British Rock band The Cult, whose charismatic, mystic and mysterious leader, Ian Astbury (Cheshire, 1962), has always made use of his voice to denounce social and political injustices or to defend human rights, freedom and natural spaces. The Cult’s whole discography includes references to the natural universe, which the members have shown an abiding interest in. So, in this piece of research, certain notions about Ecocriticism will be applied to analyse how the natural universe is depicted in their songs. The discipline of Ecocriticism, which was coined as a term in the decade of the 1970s, discusses the representation of nature in the Arts. Ecocriticism has evolved and diversified in several currents. Here, the focus of attention will be the ecocritical currents of Sense of Place and Environmental Justice.

Sense of Place is defined as the place-attachment or the feeling of belonging to a place for different reasons. The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan asserts that the “attachment to homeland is a common human emotion. (...) The more ties there are, the stronger is the emotional bond” (2008, p. 154); however, “place attachment implies adaptation” and “earth’s woes need instantiation” (Buell, 2005, pp. 66, 68). According to John Felstiner, the earth symbolises “the natural world we’re both part of and apart from (...) and we’ve a chance to recognize and lighten our footprint in a world where all of nature matters vitally (...)” (2009, p. xiii). In Chris Baker’s view: a “place is a socially constructed site or location in space marked by identification or emotion investment” (2004, p. 40). Moreover, some critics believe that the spaces in which we move are political and, as a consequence, they have a social organization:

In a world characterised by deep-seated, growing inequalities and highly asymmetrical concentrations of wealth and power, it hardly seems necessary to insist that the spaces through which we move and the places in which we live are thoroughly political, if not always explicitly politicised. (Certoma & Elsey, 2012, p. 1)

Ecocriticism has also analyzed the contrast existing between life in the city and life in the country. In Yi-Fu Tuan’s view, corruption takes place in the city, seeing that men are eager to obtain power. Though nature, “in the romantic adulation of country life” (1990, p. 263), was a “healthy” place, not subject to social or political conventions:

The city symbolized corruption and ultimate sterility. It was the place where men struggled for power and vainglory and yet succumbed to petty social

conventions. The country stood for life: life as seen in the fruits of the soil, in green growing things, in pure water and clear air, in the healthy human family, and in freedom from arbitrary political and social constraints (1990, p. 236)

As for Environmental Justice, in October 1991 the First National People of Colour Environmental Leadership Summit took place in Washington, where the principles of Environmental Justice were established.

[The] delegates took a stand against environmental racism, drawing up Seventeen Principles of Environmental Justice that profiled a broad and deep political project to pursue environmental justice and secure a “political, economic and cultural liberation that has been denied for over 500 years of colonization and oppression. (Adamson, 2001, p. xii)

The “Principles of Environmental Justice” were established to fight against inequality, racism and oppression of the minorities, and whose first and last clauses are:

Environmental justice affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction. (...) Environmental justice requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother’s Earth resources and to produce as little waste as possible; and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our life-styles to insure the health of the natural world for present and future generations. (Buell, 2005, p. 114)

Environmental Justice emerged to deplore harmful effects in nature and to disapprove of the social injustices against minorities or weak groups. In most cases, the conditions such minorities suffer are those of exploitation and marginalization, excluding them from welfare and relegating them to an insecure and perilous way of living. In *Precarious Life. The Power of Mourning and Violence* (2006), Judith Butler makes mention of the meaning of “to be injured” as to “to reflect upon injury, to find out the mechanisms of distribution, to find out who else suffers from permeable borders, unexpected violence, dispossession, and fear, and in what ways” (p. xii). What matters is protecting the lives of those inhabiting the earth: humans and the natural species, because it is fairly obvious that if we do not protect them, our earth will endure the damaging and injurious consequences.

What happens to you and what happens to the earth happens to us as well, so we have common interests. We have to somehow try to convince people who are in power to change the direction that they’ve been taking. We need to take a more responsible direction and to begin dealing with the realities of the future to insure that there is a future for the children, for the nation. That’s what we’re about. (Chief Oren Lyons, 2013, p. 7)

The above concepts have been defended by The Cult through their music. So, after establishing the theoretical frame, it is time to analyse the messages sent by the rock band in their lyrics and explain the social and cultural period when they broke

onto the musical scene in Britain. Before being constituted as the band The Cult, Ian Astbury founded the band Southern Death Cult, whose name might be derived from Native American religion and culture. The group played a kind of post-punk or gothic rock stemming from a rebellion against the music industry, especially against the type of glam-pop bands called “the New Romantics”¹⁴, and against the establishment.

Astbury borrowed the name from an alternate branding for the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex of the Mississippian culture. Formerly described as “The Southern Death Cult”, the young Astbury found this to be an ideal name for a burgeoning goth band. Duffy explains “I know it was an anthropological term. I thought, and I might be wrong, that it was the tribes that worshiped death and had burial mounds in the South. The story is that somebody must’ve been researching for university purposes North American Indian, Native Culture and that’s how that name came about.” Although this was before Duffy joined Astbury (he came aboard as the band was rechristened “Death Cult” before finally being shortened to “The Cult”) he is familiar with the naming of the band, which he calls “a good story.” (Macek, 2016)

One of the Southern Death Cult’s main successes was the song “Moya”, in which they tackled topics such as capitalism or Native Americans. It was then the early 1980s and the quality of life in Britain had impoverished and investment in health and education was reduced; high inflation and industrial recession were the backdrop to a society plagued by uprisings and violence. “The slow decline in industry quickened in the Thatcherite “service economy” revolution of the 1980s, establishing a post-industrial nation” (Spall, 2009, p. 340). The band’s lyrics constitute a hard criticism of capitalism, industrialization, and a reference to Native American and the massacre at Wounded Knee also appears.

The kids of Coca-Cola nation
 Are too doped up to realize
 That time is running out
 Nagasaki is crying out
 The doom watch says it’s time
 To give up what you took away
 Uncle Sam meets the reaper
 Wounded Knee over again
 Kasota kasota annihilation
 Of a nation, of our nation
 Of our world population
 Of the Indian nation

The song talks about how the world is collapsing. The expression “the kids of Coca-Cola” refers to young people born under the reign of capitalism and multinationals such as the soft drinks corporation mentioned. Thus, their abuses of drugs make young people forget the daily problems. There is a criticism of events such as the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, on the 9th of August of 1945, annihilating an estimated

¹⁴ Examples of these bands were the well-known Spandau Ballet, Duran Duran and Roxy Music.

40,000 people. On the other hand, the massacre of Indians at Wounded Knee, on the 29th of December of 1820, would be one Astbury's fascinations and would continue appearing in The Cult's lyrics. The leader explains the meaning of the song in the following terms:

Lyrically, it was wonderfully earnest and naïve and beautiful, coming from a very young spirit. But the sense in that song was definitely about dystopia, growing up in mostly industrial areas, whether it was Merseyside in England or Glasgow or Hamilton, Ontario, in Canada, it was certainly coming out of true punk rock. George Orwell's 1984 wasn't that far away from reality in the early '80s in the UK, in Thatcher Britain. (Harris, 2012)

The period in which Southern Death Cult burst onto the music scene was the decade of the nineteen eighties; a tumultuous period in Britain, which was riddled with racial disturbances and it was economically depressed. Later, Astbury himself defined the country at that time as “[k]ind of like an empire in decay [where there was] no[t] much room for optimism” (Harris, 2012). The famous writer D. H. Lawrence, in his essay “Nottingham and the Mining Countryside”, which was published in *The Architectural Review* (1930), wrote a personal description of the British Industrial society in the nineteenth century that could be wholly applied to what the frontman of the band feels:

Now, though perhaps nobody knew it, it was ugliness which betrayed the spirit of man, in the nineteenth century. The great crime which the moneyed classes and promoters of industry committed (...) was the condemning of the workers to ugliness, ugliness: meanness and formless and ugly surroundings, ugly ideals, ugly religion, ugly hope, ugly love, ugly clothes, ugly furniture, ugly houses, ugly relationships between workers and employers. The human soul needs actual beauty even more than bread. (Quoted in Leavis and Thompson, 2000, p. 75)

Inasmuch as groups had the need to claim what they thought was fair and right, Southern Death Cult, and then The Cult, used their music as the tool itself when asking for a change. Their awareness was that the industrial society had brought inequality and unjust conditions for the working class, who had the poorest situation in the social pyramid. Against that background, one of the band's prime concerns was the lack of justice and, thus, rock materialized the complaints of young people. Astbury admitted that this was precisely the purpose of rock music: to throw away certain barriers and to send messages able to change attitudes:

Rock'n' roll came out of social situations, a liberation of spirit as the institutions began to fall down in the early part of the 20th century and individuals started to move up the class system. Barriers were thrown away or broken – racial, sexual, spiritual – and it's interesting now, because with the Internet, everyone's now an authority. (Harris, 2012)

In the same decade, Astbury formed Death Cult. Under their current name, The Cult, established in 1984, the group would have an enormous success as a post-punk or gothic rock band. In 1984 they launched the album *Dreamtime*; in 1985, *Love and*, in 1987, *Electric*; however, *Sonic Temple* (1987) and *Ceremony* (1991) were the albums

which opened up the American market and catapulted them to international fame. Astbury had spent part of his youth in Canada and it was there that he came into contact with Native Americans and discovered his devotion for Indian culture to the extent that such culture would be part of his philosophy and way of living. Indeed, having an “[a]wareness of the past is an important element in the love of a place” (Tuan, 1990, p. 99). It must be added that Native Americans worshipped the natural universe, seeing it as part of their ceremonies and rituals, and Astbury inherited this passion. Ancient Indian traditions, shamanism or ceremonies would be relevant elements in the band’s lyrics. Their album *Sonic Temple* includes various songs dedicated to Indian culture. A good example of this is constituted by the song “American Horse”, dealing with the importance of the horse for the Native Americans and how their survival depended on this animal. The lyrics suggest the difficulty of taming Native Americans, and also horses, for they have a free spirit: “He’s gone crazy, completely crazy / trying to tame the American horse” (Astbury, 1989). Almost certainly, the horse is a metaphor for the Indian warrior here. Horses, for Indians, meant strength of characters and many Indian chiefs or warriors took the word “horse” as their names; i.e., Crazy Horse. They even dedicated poems or compositions emphasizing the sacred quality of horses. The book *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee. An Indian Story of the American West* (1970) contains diverse illustrations of them: “In a sacred manner I live / My horses / Are many” (Brown, 1970, p. 36).

The memory of special places produces in us a sense of “ecological identity”. From Thomashow’s point of view, children establish a connection to the earth, forming a symbiosis that leads to the shape of our personal identity. Subsequently, “[t]he purpose of revisiting the special places of childhood is to gain awareness of the connections we make with the earth, awakening and holding those memories in our consciousness of the present” (Thomashow, 1996, p. 9). The time he spent with the Indians, had an enormous influence on Astbury, so that he felt attached to the natural universe and he became identified with it. The singer formed his own character according to natural laws. In this sense, Thomashow defends that our identity is constructed through the place in which we live and our sense of place is determined by the place we feel affection for. “Sense of place is a search for ecological roots. (...) It is through the place we live that we construct our personal identities, relate to the landscape, and determine what is important in our lives” (pp. 193-194). The song “Brother Wolf; Sister Moon”, included in the album *Love* (1985), witnesses Astbury’s passion for the Indian life and how they treated the natural elements. What is more, he asks Indian people not to beg anymore and to be free. Elements of nature, such as the moon or a wolf, are brothers and sisters for the singer and this proves how he became heir to the remarkable connection Indians keep with nature:

Embrace the wind with both arms
 Stop the clouds dead in the sky
 Hang your head no more
 And beg no more
 Brother wolf and sister moon
 Your time has come

And yet, such passion continues in their later works and has never faded. The Cult's lyrics allude to nature as the places where human beings are alive and protected from the cold industrial and civilized world they disapprove of. Their album *Choice of Weapon* (2012), has clear references to music as a weapon used to defend the world and human freedom. Astbury added that the title means "having a choice, as individual and society, and the weapon is a metaphor or it could be a mantra. Or a knife or a gun. Or a pen. Your art, creativity can be your weapon of cultural revolution" (Songfacts, 2015). The album contains a piece of music entitled "Elemental Light", which implies the need for wild places, given that wilderness is vital for human beings. This "elemental light" is possibly our mother nature, whose beauty is incomparable:

I run into the wild places
I'm so alive.
Search for the others' traces
And I'm so alive
Every one of us feels alone inside
And every one of us has forgotten our name.
Elemental light
You're beautiful, you're beautiful
Elemental light, she's beautiful, she's beautiful.

These lyrics recall certain passages of *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee*, which deal with idea of following one's instincts and being free in the wilderness: "Let me be a free man –free to travel, free to stop, free to trade where I choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to think and talk and act for myself – and I will obey every law, or submit to the penalty" (Brown, 2000, p. 330). On the subject of freedom and liberty, it must be pointed out that the members of the band reject institutions and laws which rule human beings and prevent them from doing whatever they need. "Wake up, Time for Freedom", from *Sonic Temple*, implies "an escape from constantly being told what to do and how to do things and when to jump and how high by the powers that be. It's a kind of statement of [Astbury's] own freedom" (Songfacts, 2015). For the band, humans should awaken from the nightmare of oppressing powers and be liberated.

Wake up, time for freedom, baby
Wake up, time to fly
Wake up, time for freedom, baby

Lawman on the bank now, honey
Hound dog on my trail
Wake up time for freedom
Before the night prevails

Therefore, the natural world as a principal topic would remain in the rest of the songs composed by the leader. Nature is represented as the loving mother who protects her children and has been a recurrent topic in literature as well. For Indian

culture, nature provides them with all they need and, thus, in gratitude for what they receive, Indians offer her ceremonies or rituals. Carolyn Merchant, in her study “Nature as Female” (2015), describes the two sides of nature: one as a nurturing mother and the other one as wild and uncontrollable. She affirms that:

Central to the organic theory was the identification of nature, especially the earth, with a nurturing mother: a kindly beneficent female who provided for the needs of mankind in an ordered, planned universe. But another opposing image of nature as female was also prevalent: wild and uncontrollable nature that render violence, storms, droughts, and general chaos. Both were identified with the female sex and were projections of human perceptions onto the external world. (p. 10)

One of The Cult’s most popular songs contains the idea of matriarchal energy: “She sells Sanctuary”, belonging to the work *Love*. It portrays “the power of finding solitude in a woman’s arms and the matriarchal energy, whether it be an actual physical person or in a spiritual sense, the greatest matriarch, and considers the cosmos to be a female energy rather than a male energy” (Astbury in Harris, 2012). Apparently, the relationships the four members of the band, and particularly the singer, maintain with the natural universe is a close and profound one. In moments of despair, nature comforts them and it seems there is an extraordinary connection to the group and the song also gives the impression that an outstanding link unites men and nature. As reported by Thomas Berry in his article “The World of Wonder”, “[a]bove all, this world provided the psychic power we humans needed in our moments of crisis. Together with the visible world and the cosmic world, the human world formed a meaningful threefold community of existence” (p. 15). At the same time, we could also state that diverse sexual connotations can be glimpsed through the lyrics.

The sparkle in your eyes
Keeps me alive
And the sparkle in your eyes
Keeps me alive, keeps me alive

The world
And the world turns around
The world and the world
The world drags me down

An illustration of the contraposition between the matriarchal culture and the current world we live in can be appreciated in the song “Indian”, from the album *Ceremony*. Astbury regards “[t]he cosmos as a female energy rather than a male energy” (Harris, 2012) and for the animistic and ancient cultures, nature symbolizes a female figure or a mother. “Indian” praises the beauty of American native women, but it is also a prayer to the mother earth human beings are destroying with their physical and psychical actions. Such behaviour is devastating the natural world and the philosophical, religious and enlightening background:

Indian woman, let down your hair
 Blood red wine layered in time
 Standing at the edge of the world
 Please help me, girl. Please help me, girl
 All the temples stand in ruin
 Reaching out to the gods in the sky
 While the earth beats to the rhythm
 My Indian lover high high

However, the band has never abandoned their “fight” against those harmful forces that are annihilating the natural universe and insists on the fact that such forces should not be allowed. Nowadays, Ecocriticism promotes a political reform to eradicate the danger being caused to the nature. “Ecological problems are seen to result from structures of hierarchy and élitism in human society, geared to exploit both other people and the natural world as a source of profit” (Clark, 2011, p. 2). The song, “Hinterland”, included on *Hidden City* (2016), reveals, through the German word *hinterland*, which conveys an area behind the coast or the banks of a river, what human beings are doing to our earth. Astbury explained the meaning of the song in the following terms:

Hinterland is a place that’s known and unknown. It is the power of nature. We’re at a place in our evolution where we don’t know what’s going to happen. There is more conflict, the oceans are full of plastic... It goes back to the theme of existential spiritual crisis – the human condition. (Songfacts, 2017)

The message contained is also related to the near “fading” of human beings, as the current generation is not interested in the welfare of the natural universe. With the advent of ecological concerns in the seventies, Theodore Roszak saw environmentalists as romantic heroes, although now the process is about to end. “They were seen as nature lovers and responsible citizens struggling to keep the water clean, save the forest and soulful baby seals” (2001, p. 32). “Hinterland” portrays clearly a generation whose main interest does not lie in the natural universe anymore and this is the reason why life on earth is fading:

In the field of the lords
 I forget myself, with you
 Forever with you
 All stars and dust
 Protect yourself
 The truth, baby with you
 The stream of life is fading
 These generations fading
 Shadows with us failing
 Forever with you

Likewise, the defence of nature above all else is also the central theme in one of their most popular songs, “Wild Hearted Son”, from *Ceremony* (1991), which addresses the difference between living in the city, subject to conventions and rules,

and free in the wilderness. In an interview which took place in 2012, the band's leader explains the importance of the distinction between living in these two places:

The idea of “Wild Hearted Son” was alluding to the outsider, the primal, the instinctual. Again, it has a very heavy Native American modality to it, but these are references that, when we look at indigenous people, they're the ones that really do live closer to the way things really are. They're much more in tune with the natural elemental environments, whereas in cities and urban environments tend to live more dictated by media institutions, the policeman. It's very different when you're in a forest or in the mountains or a very natural environment, where different rules apply. (Harris, 2012)

Although the song talks about being born in a city and being educated there, the principal wish is to feel liberated. Even the video begins with the image of an Indian man playing tribal dances on a road: a metaphor for the ancient Indian culture brought to the city and trapped by the city laws. The lyrics suggest the contrast between these two worlds and the preference of the band, which is obviously for wilderness:

I was born to the city
 But I longed to roam free
 Got a screaming horse in my belly
 Scar on my heart
 I live outside of convention
 You know the people who stare
 I'm just a breed of society
 I'm pushing hard and I'm stealing free
 Don't try to lay no trip on me
 Wild hearted son
 The world didn't want me to run

Another example is “Honey from a Knife”, from *Choice of Weapon*, whose line “My wild Indian heart was pounding” stresses the importance of Indian culture for the band. It also includes the lines: “I was beaten and confused / On the New York City rules” to criticize the measures imposed by American society; measures which, according to Astbury, tie and reduce human freedom and rights. If this devotion to wilderness is something the leader has experienced throughout his whole life, and has been able to transmit to his band mates, then it could be explained in terms of being a need.

[T]he love of wilderness is more than a hunger for what is always beyond reach: it is also an expression of loyalty to the earth, the earth which bore us and sustains us, the only home we shall ever know, the only paradise we ever need if only we had the eyes to see. (...) [W]ilderness is not a luxury but a necessity of the human spirit, and as vital to our lives as water and good bread. (Abbey 1968, p. 190, 192)

When it comes to Environmental Justice, Joni Adamson states that Indian people preserve their natural environment not only because it is their home, but also because

this environment has sacred and mystical connotations which are part of their origins and of their traditions as well. And, of course, such practices and conventions are what differentiate them from other human beings.

For the Shoshonean and other American Indian peoples, the fight for sacred places and traditional homeland is not simply about preserving valued environmental qualities in specific locations or gaining deep experiential knowledge of nature. For them, unique geologic features within their homelands are often alive with the mythic, historic, and sacred meanings of their cultures; these places are expressive of a particular way of life, and when threatened, they become symbols of the threat to distinctive cultural identities. (Adamson, 2001, p. 71)

Regarding ceremonies and ancient traditions, which are part of Indian culture, and bearing in mind the visual image the band had during the eighties and nineties¹⁵, we can definitely affirm that there are many songs making reference to the ceremonies taking place in Indian reservations. As a matter of fact, one of their most popular albums was called *Ceremony* and has the face of an Indian boy on the cover, which symbolizes what the band mostly admired. The album includes songs dealing with Indian rituals and celebrations where they worshiped the natural elements. An instance of the sacred rituals is constituted by the song “Ceremony”, where the members of the band also make mention of a “bleeding world” that must be cleaned and purified:

Ancient rhythm hit machine
Ritual music flowing strong and free
Flowing strong and free
A celebration that we need
To cleanse a world that is bleeding deep
Don't let her bleed, no
We are gathered here in a sacred place
Ceremony
Rock n' roll music got you good, now children

On the other hand, the book *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee*, which Astbury confessed inspired him, contains paradigms with exact details of the rituals and celebrations that took place in the reservations: “Somewhere along this frozen stream the heart of Crazy Horse lay in a secret place and the Ghost Dancers believed that his disembodied spirit was waiting impatiently for the new earth that would surely come with the first green grass of spring” (Brown, 2000, p. 441). Undoubtedly, the frontman paid attention to all the rites he observed and that would impregnate his body and mind forever. Indian ceremonies and shamanism containing dreams and moments of ecstasy inspired him quite a bit when writing songs. If truth be told, every human group is distinguished by the predominant rites and ceremonies which constitute their culture and tradition, thus literature and music are elements to make these groups more visible and vivid. “Human places become vividly real

¹⁵ Astbury was always in black leather trousers and coats and had long straight black hair.

through dramatization. Identity of place is achieved by dramatizing the aspirations, needs, and functional rhythms of personal and group life” (Tuan, 2008, p. 178). The subsequent extract, taken from Brown’s book, represents a case in point of what influenced him and reminds us of the song “Ceremony”:

Since the time of his youth, Crazy Horse had known that the world men lived in was only a shadow of the real world. To get into the real world, he had to dream, and when he was in the real world everything seemed to float or dance. In this real world his horse danced as if it were wild or crazy, and this was why he called himself Crazy Horse. He had learned that if he dreamed himself into the real world before going into a fight, he could endure anything. (2000, p. 289)

However, the event that probably marked his life and defined his thought was the massacre of the Lakota Siouxs at Wounded Knee in 1890. The book *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee*, by Dee Brown, inspired most of the lyrics he wrote. In an interview that took place in 2012, he admitted he was fascinated by Indian culture and the events that took place at Wounded Knee:

The references to Wounded Knee, that was my fascination with native cultures and indigenous cultures, which I’ve had since I was about 11 years old. That comes from living in Canada and being exposed to indigenous culture, then reading into it. So it was something I was very passionate about, and I guess in this song.... It’s a montage of different emotions. (Harris, 2012)

The massacre has unquestionably been patent in the band’s lyrics and in Astbury’s mind. He is aware that, in spite of being abandoned and murdered in cold blood, Indian people have endured because of their strength. They have been always escaping to secure places to save their lives; however, their willingness has been crucial in maintaining their race and their roots. *Wounded Knee* evidences Indian strength and how they acted bravely to be able to survive: “We heard that soldiers were coming. We did not fear. We hoped that we could tell them our troubles and get help. A white man said the soldiers meant to kill us. We did not believe it, but some were frightened and ran away to the Badlands” (Brown, 2000, p. 439). The song “If”, from *Ceremony*, conveys the strength to survive freely. Astbury may have inherited this concept from Indian culture and from *Wounded Knee*. There is no way to have a better life, but fighting to liberate both body and mind.

If
If that’s the way that it is
We gotta fight to live
If
If that’s the way that it is
We gotta fight to live
If the tribes of Eden
Could find some common ground
We share in life and wisdom
And free our minds from prison

And yet, on the topic of massacres, we must not forget that the band has continued playing in the twenty-first century. The members of the group are also aware of the threat of terrorism and have decided to contribute to the search for peace with the song “Deeply Ordered Chaos”, from *Choice of Weapon*. “The title came from one [of their] greatest painters and visionaries, Francis Bacon, who stated, ‘I believe in deeply ordered chaos’” (Polanco, 2015). Astbury himself elucidates the genesis of the song adding that it was “[c]onceived as a response to the tragedy and massacres in Paris, both the *Charlie Hebdo* and Bataclan incidents, [and] the band’s new lyric video for their song “Deeply Ordered Chaos” addresses the attacks” (Polanco, 2015):

Deeply Ordered Chaos’ was written after events in Paris in January this year,” explains frontman Ian Astbury (who directed the video with Juan Azualy) about the shootings at French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* in January. «We chose to depict scenes of wild life and outer space to provide a counterpoint to the wave of violent images we are constantly bombarded with and acknowledge the profoundness of being. This is also in response to events in Paris on Nov. 13.

Currently, being a European citizen is a synonym of being an heir of the Western world and culture, and also being exposed to the dangers that threaten our modern society. “Deeply Ordered Chaos” depicts cities deprived of their liberties and covered in blood. As we have already said, they are using music here as a weapon to defend freedom and human rights; the most relevant of them being the right to live in a free world without being threatened. Indeed, “[l]ike “terrorist”, “slaughter” is a word that, within the hegemonic grammar, should be reserved for unjustified act of violence (...)” (Butler, 2006, p. 13). The lyrics embody a world full of violence; a world whose inhabitants must defend themselves to stop the rise of bombings and terrorist attacks:

What you looking at?
Who you dreaming of?
What you leave behind?

A child of liberty
I opened my eyes.
Defend Paris

Violence in my head
I’m a European
Violence in my head
I’m a European
Witnessing the fall
From the perfumed lands
Syria the fall weep for you

To conclude, our research has underlined the importance of natural places in the lyrics of the rock band The Cult, highlighting also how wild places constitute a necessity for human beings. From the beginning, the band, and in particular the

leader, has always shown an enduring interest in nature and in the idea of feeling free in wilderness. What they have experienced all the time is a sensation of place-attachment that makes them believe they belong to the natural universe and not to the city. For them, the city does not allow human beings to be completely free. Social and political conventions tie citizens and convert them into more egoistical beings. Furthermore, the influence of American Indians on what Astbury was subjected to is noticeable in the lyrics. The devotion to Indian people and customs, along with the defence of the Indian rights are their main topics. Learning about the massacre at Wounded Knee signified a crucial point in Astbury's thought; however, it has been shown that the members of the band are aware of other attacks such as those on Paris or Syria.

Taken together, these findings suggest the band marked a new period in the music world, as it is unlikely that any other rock band has ever dedicated most of its albums to a minority or to an oppressed group; in this case, the American Indians. The social and historical period in which the band arose meant a decisive moment in the musical scene. Gothic rock and post-punk bands rebelled against the new romantics and shouted their disagreement with society or politics. And, of course, one of these disconformities was, for The Cult, the man-made world. Industrialism destroys the beauty of landscape and spoils individuals, turning them into colder and self-centred human beings. What is more, they believed in times of despair and desolation and, in the same way as for the romantic authors, nature alone is what can heal them and restore the calm they needed. Concerning nature, they defended wilderness as the most precious gift that has been given to us.

Through their lyrics, the members of the band transmit to us the idea that we should preserve the natural environment which is an "elemental light". We should not abandon its preservation, since the natural universe represents our greatest wealth. We need Mother Earth, since "[i]f every place on earth were cared for as we like to think a "protected" reserve is cared for, then perhaps the health of planet and people might be secured" (Rozelle, 2006, p. 68).

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Towards the definition of National Identity: The Elizabethan Reformation and the Growth of Anglicanism

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Abstract

Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses (1517) officially inaugurated an important historical period in Europe, characterised by a stern criticism of the Roman Catholic Church and by the origin and progressive development of Protestant ideas and Churches. However, England's adherence to Protestantism was neither immediate nor uncontroversial and, despite England's formal break with Rome in 1534, national identity was far from settled. In fact, Calvin's thought was more influential in the development of English Protestantism than Luther's theories, and it later acquired a crucial role in the Elizabethan Church, with the return of the Marian exiles. However, not only was Elizabeth I closer to Luther's theology, but she also rejected the political system defended by the Calvinists, as it was incompatible with the Erastianism she intended to promote. The Church of England's balanced position between Catholicism, on the one hand, and radical Protestantism, on the other, was defined by the Elizabethan Settlement (1559) and The Thirty Nine Articles (1563), even though none of the groups was fully satisfied with the outcome. Such balanced position, or *via media*, represented a distinctive element of the Church of England's identity, later known as Anglicanism. Therefore, the intention of this paper is, firstly, to address Calvin's most relevant reformist proposals and understand how they differed from those of Luther. Secondly, to analyse the characteristics of the Elizabethan Reformation and how it contributed for the definition of the national identity. Lastly, the reaction to such attempts of stabilization will also be addressed, with a specific focus on the Puritan movement.

Keywords: Calvin, Elizabethan Reformation, Catholicism, Puritanism, Anglicanism.

Resumo

As Noventa e Cinco Teses de Lutero (1517) inauguraram oficialmente um importante período histórico na Europa, caracterizado pela crítica severa à Igreja Católica Romana e pela origem e progressivo desenvolvimento de ideias e Igrejas Protestantes. Contudo, a adesão da Inglaterra ao Protestantismo não foi imediata nem isenta de controvérsia e, apesar da rutura oficial do país com Roma em 1534, a identidade nacional encontrava-se, ainda, indefinida. Na verdade, a influência do pensamento de Calvino foi muito mais relevante para o desenvolvimento do Protestantismo inglês do que as teorias de Lutero, tendo posteriormente assumido um papel fundamental na Igreja Isabelina, com o regresso dos exilados Marianos. No entanto, para além de se rever mais na teologia de Lutero, Isabel I rejeitava também o sistema político defendido pelos Calvinistas, por ser incompatível com o Erastianismo que a monarca pretendia implementar. A posição moderada da Igreja de Inglaterra entre o Catolicismo, por um lado, e o

Protestantismo radical, por outro, foi definida pelo Compromisso Isabelino (1559) e pelos Trinta e Nove Artigos (1563), apesar de nenhum dos grupos ter ficado plenamente satisfeito com o desfecho. Tal posição moderada, ou *via média*, representou o fator distintivo da identidade da Igreja de Inglaterra, posteriormente designado por Anglicanismo. Assim, a intenção deste artigo é, em primeiro lugar, a de abordar as propostas reformistas, mas significativas, de Calvino e perceber de que forma diferiam das de Lutero. Em segundo lugar, a de analisar as características da Reforma Isabelina, bem como a forma como esta contribuiu para a definição da identidade nacional. Por último, serão também abordadas as reações às referidas tentativas de estabilização, com particular incidência no movimento Puritano.

Palavras-chave: Calvino, Reforma Isabelina, Catolicismo, Puritanismo, Anglicanismo.

Introduction

After the break with Rome in the early 1530s and following a period of political and religious instability, the Church of England was still striving to shape and assert its identity in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Neither Catholics nor Protestants were fully satisfied with the Church of England's balanced position between Catholicism and Protestantism, since the first would have preferred to follow Mary's policies in the attempt to strengthen the bonds with Rome, while the latter had hoped for a more radical reformation. However, such a moderate position was eventually asserted and consolidated, also due to the influence of Richard Hooker, who has been held as the leading figure of early Anglicanism, characterized by a *via media* which expressed the unique identity of the Church of England and stood between extreme religious beliefs.

Notwithstanding the relevance of Luther's pioneering reformist proposals, characterised by a stern criticism of the established Church and by the origin and progressive development of Protestant ideas and Churches, Calvin's thought would prove to be much more influential in the development of English Protestantism than that of Luther. Moreover, Henry VIII's role in the English Reformation is not only undeniable, but crucial, and the Henrician Reformation was actually the starting point of the process towards the definition the Church of England's identity that would later be known as Anglicanism. However, and even though the advent of Calvinism in England was already perceptible during Henry VIII's reign, namely due to the existence of English of the Bible in the churches, the influence of the movement only became more obvious during Edward VI's reign (Dickens, 1978, p. 182). This was due, to a great extent, to the fact that the exiled reformers who had refused to accept the royal policies as exposed in the Six Articles during Henry VIII's reign, were now returning to the country, hoping that a more Protestant reformation could at last be possible.

If the intention of the *Prayer Book* of 1549 intended to establish a conciliation between Catholicism and Protestantism (Smith, 1996, p. 18), that of 1552 adopted an undoubtedly Protestant position. The first one allowed, on the one hand, the marriage of the clergy and ordered the removal of images and altars from the churches. On the other hand, though, it also permitted the practice of intercession prayers, as well as the maintenance of the prayer during the baptismal service. With the second *Prayer*

Book, besides the elimination of several religious rituals and festivities, intercession and baptismal prayers were forbidden, the vestments of the priests became less opulent and funerals now represented an exhortation of faith rather than the traditional intercession for the souls of the dead. In the Eucharist, the “The body of our Lord Jesus Christ” was substituted by “Take and eat this in remembrance...”. A year later, the Forty Two Articles of 1553 were even more assertive as far as the adoption of Protestant faith was concerned, since they reaffirmed the attack on transubstantiation, on the purgatory, as well as on clergy celibacy. Therefore, Henry VIII’s “purifying” Reformation went through several changes having clearly become closer to Calvin’s proposals during Edward VI’s reign. The objective was that of moving the official religion of the country away from the influence of Catholicism, an objective which was later gradually consolidated during Elizabeth I’s reign.

About Calvin G. R. Elton (1999, p. 149) wrote: “If he lacked Luther’s passion, humanity and reckless courage, he also lacked his self-doubts and extravagances.” Similarly to Luther, Calvin rejected scholastic philosophy and defended the importance of the Bible in the search for religious truth. The word of God was superior to the sacraments, which were not fundamental for salvation, even though they were the means through which God revealed his divine grace (Elton, 1999, p. 155; Dickens, 1978, p. 161). Unlike Luther, who defended Christ’s real physical presence in the Eucharist, Calvin defended His spiritual presence, even though this was real and not symbolic as Zwingly had suggested (Elton, 1999, p. 154). Such a simplification in fact represented an important aspect in the doctrine of the reformer. Also similarly to Luther, Calvin underplayed the relevance of charity and personal merit in God’s decision regarding the fate of Man’s soul. As Dickens (1978, pp. 157-160) remarked, some were predestined to condemnation, others to redemption, by the power of God and through the visible Church, which is similar to Luther’s defense of remission of sins through the exercise of divine will and grace. Lastly, a minority was destined to salvation, even though no believer could be certain about his destiny, since only God had such a knowledge, given that the Church of the Elected was invisible. The visible Church, which included not only the elected ones but those to whom salvation had been denied, was in charge of correctly administering the sacraments, of preaching the divine word and of maintaining ecclesiastical discipline (MacCulloch, 2003, p. 61).

G. R. Elton (1999, pp. 150-151) defended, though, that the principle of predestination was not central in Calvin’s theology, as his followers generally defended, but rather God’s omnipotence and omnipresence. If, as Dickens (1978, p. 158) suggested, Calvin considered faith, a righteous behavior, as well as the participation in the Church and the Sacraments, gifts from God to the elected ones then, such gifts could be interpreted as sign of salvation by men. Max Weber (2001, p. 66) had previously expressed a similar opinion, and actually stressed the importance that success and personal wealth had for the seventeenth-century Puritans, since those resulted from an unconditional devotion to their calling and a total devotion to incessant work, whose main objective was that of glorifying God.

Justification by faith alone, which Luther had defended, was insufficient for Calvin, since it was at the mercy of feelings and predispositions (Weber, 2001, pp. 66-68). However, the interpretation of personal success and the obedience of norms

of moral conduct as signs of divine sanction represented a deterioration of Calvin's teachings, perpetuated by his followers (G. R. Elton, 1999, p. 153). The relationship between God and Humanity defended by the reformer was equally misrepresented. Despite his apology of the principle of predestination, or the choice of those who are to be saved from a state of sin, Calvin defended that Christ had died for all Men and not only for the minority destined to salvation (MacCulloch, 2003, p. 63). This had been the proposal of Beza and his disciples.

Despite the common intention of restoring religion to its original meaning and save it from the abuses and superstition of the church, the reformation Calvin wished to implement was more ambitious than that of Luther:

It was a creed which sought, not merely to purify the individual, but to reconstruct Church and State, and to renew society by penetrating every department of life, public as well as private, with the influence of religion. (Tawney, 1980, p. 111)

In fact, Calvinism would turn into an international movement and the ideas of its mentor would reach a crucial relevance for the further development of Protestantism (Tawney, 1980, p. 111). Calvin believed it was essential to reorganize the Church according to the orientations of the Holy Scriptures and based on a Presbyterian system. Furthermore, it should impose discipline and a righteous moral behaviour (Elton, 1999, p. 154). Even though he defended the partnership between Church and State as far as assuring the respect for the moral codes imposed by God were concerned, Calvin defended the independence of the Church as far as religious matters were concerned (Dickens, 1978, pp. 161-162), as well as its duty to counsel the monarch whenever he/she acted contrarily to the word of God (MacCulloch, 2003, p. 62). Moreover, despite defending that people were generally obliged to obey the government, this ceased to be the case whenever its action was manifestly contrary to the law of God. In fact, Calvin urged magistrates to oppose tyrant governors (Dickens, 1978, p. 162).

Bearing in mind Edward VI's royal policy, the influence of Calvin's teachings seemed to be progressively consolidated. Nevertheless, and even though the ideas of the reformer would later hold a significant position in Elizabethan England, Mary I succeeded Edward VI, as Henry VIII had determined in his last will (1546) and fought for the reestablishment of Catholicism in her short reign (1553-1558) having repealed the laws approved by Henry VIII, which limited the power of the clergy and denied the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome over England. Furthermore, the queen also rejected the religious legislation and the Protestant liturgy of Edward VI (Loades, 1992: 14, 16). The Marian restoration, besides reestablishing the main ceremonies and practices of Catholicism, such as the traditional doctrine of the mass, the cult of images and the sumptuousness in the celebration of the Eucharist, also implied a close control over the religious practices in parishes, which were visited with the intention of identifying potential signs of heresy and non-conformity (Duffy, 1992, pp. 544-545).

The intense conflict between Catholics and Protestants during Mary I's reign

gave origin to permanent prosecutions and executions of the later, amongst which Thomas Cranmer. As a consequence, a considerable number of Protestants were forced to settle in different countries of continental Europe, where they had close contact with Calvin's theories and who later represented an influent group in the Church of England when they returned to England after Elizabeth's accession to the throne (1558).

The Elizabethan Settlement and the Puritan Movement

Unsurprisingly, upon returning to the country and due to the influence of Calvin's thought, the Marian exiles hoped that the Reformation in England could follow a Calvinist path. However, Elizabeth I was closer to Luther's ideas and, more importantly, entirely aware of the fact that the political system defended by the Calvinists could not be reconcilable with the Erastianism the queen intended to promote, which did not separate the Church from the State and implied the acknowledgement of the monarch as the supreme authority of both. In fact, about the Reformation in England, Christopher Hill (1976, p. 25) wrote: "The English Reformation must be seen against this background: as an assertion of English nationalism, a refusal to submit to dictation from outside".

If the Reformation in England intended to promote a sense of patriotism, besides rejecting the authority of the Pope, it could not accept the implementation of a regime exclusively designed by foreign reformers. According to William Haller (1984, p. 8), the Puritan movement consequently grew out of a profound disillusionment with the Church of England as idealized by Elizabeth I.

In fact, there was no agreement regarding the Elizabethan Settlement (1559), which annulled the laws previously approved by Mary I and reinstated the Henrician legislation of 1530-1534, having adopted the Prayer Book of 1552, even though with some changes (Dickens, 1978, pp. 411-413). Potential foreign jurisdiction over the country was, therefore, rejected, the images should be removed from the churches and these should make use of English translations of the Bible. The marriage of members of the clergy was authorized and any signs of disrespect towards the guidelines of the holy scriptures was now a synonym of heresy (Dickens, 1978, pp. 408, 412). Royal visits to the churches had the intention of controlling preaching and of identifying potential resistance to the royal ordinances. Therefore, the Supremacy Act of 1559 reasserted that of Henry VIII, even though the Act of Uniformity was closer to the intentions of the reformers as it dictated the abolition of the mass, amongst other measures. Nevertheless, as far as the Eucharist was concerned, some sumptuousness was allowed in the celebration of the ceremony (Dickens, 1978, pp. 413-414). Lastly, and even though the religious service determined in the revised prayer book was accepted, the offensive references to the Pope were withdrawn in its new version. Similarly, as far as the role of the monarch in the Church of England, the queen accepted the title of "Supreme Governor" instead of "Supreme Head", even though in practical terms she did not intend to have her power curtailed.

Despite the fact that the queen had the intention of adopting a prudent policy, having implemented measures aimed at harmonizing the positions of Catholics and

the Protestants who had returned from exile, in fact, none of the groups was satisfied with the Elizabethan Settlement (Smith, 1996, p. 31). Catholics lost their hope in the reestablishment of Catholicism, whereas the Marian exiles were not satisfied with Elizabeth's limited reform, which was still far from what had been idealized by these groups of Protestants who, eventually, would initiate the Puritan movement, whose objective was that of completing the unfinished process of purification of the National Church, following the model of the Church of Genève, idealized by Calvin.

Even though Catholics were still a majority and Puritans an influent pressure group, the queen maintained her position and the identity of the Church of England was defined in the 39 Articles of 1563, which were basically a revised version of Cranmer's 42 Articles of 1553. Such articles would definitely clear out any possible doubts regarding the position of the government as far as religion was concerned.

According to Dickens (1978, p. 66), a strict Calvinism characterised the 39 articles as far as the principles of predestination and justification by faith alone were concerned. On the other hand, for Smith (1996, pp. 36-37), and even though the principle of predestination was included in these articles, the idea that men were destined to live in a state of absence of grace was rejected. Moreover, contrarily to what Calvin had suggested, the decision as to the potential forgiveness of sinners was not taken from the beginning. Moreover, God's grace did not imply the loss of free will and even though charity was not a means to attain the repentance of sins, it was nevertheless positive in the eyes of God. Priests could marry, even though only baptism and Eucharist were considered sacraments (Smith, 1996, p. 37).

In fact, even though national unity depended, to a great extent, on the conformity to the religion of the National Church (Smith, 1996, p. 33), Elizabeth I allowed the discreet cult of Catholicism, as well as Puritan preaching, as long as the authority of the monarch was never questioned or the safety of the country threatened and if during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign Catholicism was the dominant religion, such a reality changed after 1570. According to Duffy (1992, p. 593), the conformity of most Catholics to the settlement dictated the death of the religion which they hoped to maintain by behaving in a passive and subservient way.

It is undeniable, though, that the excommunication of the queen in 1570, together with the fear of a Spanish invasion certainly contributed to the association of Catholicism to a potential menace to the national safety. As David Loades (1992, p. 19) wrote: "The patriotic union between Church and State had become full and explicit." Such a patriotic union between the Church and the State, besides generating distrust towards Catholicism, could not allow the implementation of the objectives of the Puritans, since the radical change of the Church structure would also question the sovereignty of the monarch. In fact, according to Bernard (2005, p. 605), Elizabeth I's Reformation would consolidate, despite the differences, many of the measures previously implemented by Henry VIII, since both monarchs aimed at achieving a *middle way* between extreme positions, as far as the identity of the Church of England was concerned. As Haller noted (1984): "In reality she represented a third Protestant party, a throwback to the days of her father" (p. 171).

Puritans would not only criticize the sumptuousness of the vestments of the

clergy, which actually gave origin to the Vestiarian Controversy in 1566, but they also rejected the validity of certain ceremonies and rites (Collinson, 1997, p. 36), as these represented a proximity to Rome and were, therefore, remnants of papist superstitions. According to Collinson (1997, p. 36), though, there is the tendency to interpret the dissatisfaction of the Puritans as being mainly associated to ceremonies and the ecclesiastical structure since, as far as doctrine was concerned, this group simply wished to insist on the assertion of the role of God as sovereign, on the fragility of men, and on the acknowledgement of the sufficiency of the Scriptures. Such demands, of an imminently doctrinal character cannot, nevertheless, be considered less relevant than the ones related to more practical matters, as they would mean that the monarch could be questioned and corrected whenever it was believed she was disrespecting the divine word, amongst other reasons. Nevertheless, Collinson (1997, p. 38) stated that:

Even if the worship and doctrine of the Elizabethan Church had left nothing to be desired, the more earnest Protestant would have considered the Reformation incomplete so long as there was no fundamental reform of the Church in the institutions of its ministry and government.

Puritans defended, in fact, the Calvinist organisation of the Church, that is, of a Presbyterian nature and free from state interference in religious matters. This group of Protestants also felt the need to fight the loneliness and anxiety which characterised their existence due to the lack of mediation of the Church between God and the believer, as well as the less relevant role attributed to the sacraments. According to Weber (2001, pp. 59-61), the spiritual isolation of the believers actually gave origin to a pessimistic individualism, as well as to a negative opinion on everything related to feelings and emotions. Therefore, the Puritans organised their lives in detail so they could devote themselves almost exclusively to work, and also in order to attain a rigorous control over their moral conduct since, on the one hand, that was the will of God and, on the other hand, he would be contributing to his election by so doing.

Due to the importance of obeying a strict moral code of conduct, the idea of *covenant* emerged (William Perkins and Dudley Fenner). The fact Man's destiny was decided from the beginning and was only dependent on the divine will, could endanger the respect of certain moral codes and rules of conduct, since they would be useless for salvation. That would not be the case, though, if the believers guided their actions based on this idea of covenant with God (MacCulloch, 2003, pp. 389-390). The *covenant of works*, despite useless for salvation, included the whole humanity who was therefore obliged to respect the moral law of God, whereas the *covenant of grace* was unconditional and only included the elected ones (MacCulloch, 2003, p. 389).

The Puritans never achieved the objective of reforming the church based on Calvinist ideas. Nevertheless, the defeat of the Puritan movement was not a total one: "(...) the revolution which Puritanism wrought in Church and State was less than that which it worked in men's souls (...)" (Tawney, 1980, p. 199). Puritan preachers met a receptive audience and managed to foster the belief in the eternal fight against

sin and for discipline and righteousness of character as well as in the interpretation of human life as a stage for the fight between the spirit and the forces of evil. It was probably because of such an impact on people's lives that Tawney considered Puritanism was "the true English Reformation" (Tawney, 1980, p. 199). The hope to change the structure of the Church had waned, partially, due to their passive resistance, together with internal controversies in the movement, sometimes mistaken for separatism, but mostly because the monarch would never allow its triumph, as it would imply the reduction of royal powers and the failure of the original project for the church of England. As Knappen (1965, p. 282) stated:

By her implacable hostility to the Puritan movement she weakened its morale and in time built up an ecclesiastical faction of her own, complete with creed, form of service, party loyalty, and the respectability that comes with age.

It was the origin of Anglicanism as theology, which would eventually free the Church of England from the shackles of Rome, without giving in, though, to the demands of the extreme opponents of Catholicism. Over the years of her reign it was gradually consolidated, even though religious controversy and dispute in England was still far from its end.

Richard Hooker's via media and the Elizabethan Reformation

Richard Hooker (1554-1600) was a representative theologian of the English Church who, in opposition to Rome's Catholicism, on the one hand, and to Puritanism on the other, defended and settled the Church of England's balanced position with regard to Reformation. This position was defined by the Elizabethan Settlement (1559) and The Thirty Nine Articles (1563), and Hooker's thought was generally associated to the creation of a distinctive via media and to the origin of Anglicanism.

Even though Hooker's speech was often characterised by a polemical tone, since he permanently questioned the relevance of his opponents' demands, his main objective was that of contributing to the definite ending of the political and religious disputes of the country. Therefore, in order to test the truth in the arguments of the groups in the controversy, the defenders in the Elizabethan reformation, and those who wished for a more comprehensive restructuration of the Church, he suggested in the Preface of *Of The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, that a trial should be held. As far as doctrine was concerned, Hooker's theories had similarities with both the Catholic Church, on the one hand, and the proposals of Luther and Calvin, on the other. His interpretation of predestination and justification seem to associate Hooker, even though not entirely, to the Puritan group. Nevertheless, the crucial role of the sacraments for salvation implied the developments of a quite distinctive theory. The theologian rejected the notion of *sola fide* defended by his opponents, while also denying the Catholic idea that traditions were as important as the Scripture. Moreover, Hooker believed that reason, together with divine grace and the Scriptures held a crucial role not only in the organisation of religious matters but also of life in society and it became law when resulting from general consent as determined by

collective will represented in Parliament or assemblies.

Since harmony, agreement and peace depended on the respect towards such laws and also because they implied the existence of hierarchy, Hooker fiercely rejected the adoption of Presbyterianism. On the one hand, as it was against ecclesiastical authority, Presbyterianism, besides questioning the notion of Law, it also undermined the position of the monarch as supreme authority of the Church of England. On the other hand, such a system advocated a totally free church, as far as religious matters were concerned, which would also involve political changes, namely the weakening of the power of the State and of the Queen's sovereignty.

The fact that Elizabeth I did not follow Mary I's policies, which aimed at reestablishing Catholicism, and instead ensued the path of Reformation started by Henry VIII and developed in Edward VI's reign, allowed the ultimate assertion of the independence of the national Church from Rome. However, accepting the demands of those who envisaged a more radical reform for the country, especially as far as the structure of the Church was concerned, would equally imply the reduction of the power of the queen, who would no longer be on the top of ecclesiastical authority, as it would be substituted by a congregation of ministers. Moreover, the monarch's will would also be subjected to the interference of such a congregation, in the case it considered it was against divine will.

Besides her intention of defending her sovereignty, or even more so because of that, Elizabeth I intended to develop a policy which assured internal peace. This objective, as well as the measures carried out for its implementation and development as exposed in the Thirty Nine Articles and in the Elizabethan Settlement, were dear to Hooker, whose theory developed in *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* gathered diverse ideas of a distinctive thought, already notorious in the 1530s and which would later be named Anglicanism. Independently of the date of origin and ignoring potential partial objectives of those who used it for the first time, the use of the expression *via media* associated to Hooker's thought is a synonym of balance, harmony, moderation and agreement, as opposed to extreme positions.

However, was such *via media* fully achieved in Elizabeth I's reign? Was it something stable, or rather a bridge to the solution of the problem. According to Smith (1996, p. 47), the national Church did not accomplish the ideal state Hooker had defended in his writings. In fact, his own words seem to lead us to the same conclusion (*Laws*, IV, 300):

(...) howsoever they [Puritans] have bent themselves at first to an extreme contrariety against the Romish Church, yet therein *they will continue no longer then only till such time as some more moderate course for establishment of the Church may be concluded* [my emphasis] (...) They have seen the experience of the former policie, which may cause the authors of it to hang down their heads.

This certainly seems to confirm Smith's statements. However, Hooker also permanently manifested his satisfaction with the Reformation in England, in his *Laws* (Pref., p. 2):

Surely the presente forme of Church government which the lawes of this land have established is such, as no lawe of God, nor reason of man hath hitherto bene alleaged of force sufficient to prove they do ill, who to the uttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof.

Nigel Atkinson (2005, p. xiv) defended that the association of the notion of *via media* to Hooker's thought, and since he was a representative of the Church of Elizabethan England, would imply the existence of a distinctive doctrine which, according to Atkinson, had never existed. Nonetheless, for Richard Hooker, as well as for other defenders of the Elizabethan Settlement and the Thirty Nine Articles, the Church of England was not a reproduction of the Church of Rome in a reformed style. The theologian did not intend to reform Rome's Catholicism and implement it in England; for Hooker, the kind of Catholicism which should serve as a reference for the national Church was that which characterised Christianity, the true essence of religion, which was not dependent on Rome. Moreover, besides his opposition to the objectives of the Puritans, the difference between Hooker's thought and that of Calvin and Luther was evident, not only as far as matters of ecclesiastical organisation were concerned, but also regarding doctrinal matters related to predestination, justification and, most importantly, the sacraments.

The political and religious disputes of the subsequent centuries, besides prompting different interpretations of Hooker's theories, inevitably transformed the identity of the Church and of the country as defined in the sixteenth century. However, Reformation in England represented a definite change in the country's culture. As Booty (1972), stated:

More than twenty years ago the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, asked the Evangelical and Anglo – Catholic parties of the Church of England and the English Free Churchmen to present their views. In doing so, both Evangelicals and Anglo – Catholics emphasized the comprehensiveness of the Church of England as it has emerged from the era of the Reformation. (pp. 230-231)

The agreement between the groups descending from the Puritans and the Anglicans regarding the most relevant outcomes of the English Reformation seems to confirm, to a certain extent, that Hooker's main objective was achieved (Booty, 1972):

There is, admittedly, very much that remains to be done in tracing Hooker's relation to and influence upon Anglicanism as it developed and was transformed in the seventeenth century and beyond. But that he was a part of that development, and a vital part, and that he was influential, cannot, it seems to me, be denied. (p. 234)

Diarmaid MacCulloch (2002) has also presented a similar opinion:

(...) if one feels any gratitude for the shape of modern Anglicanism – its exhilarating variety, its engaging inability to present a single identity, its

admirable unwillingness to tell people what to do – much of this is to do with the protean nature of Richard Hooker: for no one since his death in 1600 has been able permanently to pin him down or to say what exactly constitutes the message of his huge, his enormous, his great book. (p. 182)

The Anglican thought of the second half of the sixteenth century, that Hooker systematized in his *Laws*, resulted from the identification and defense of the national interests and Anglicanism was, opposing both Catholicism and Puritanism, a conciliatory system both from the religious and the political perspectives. Therefore, Anglicanism, characterised by a *via media*, represented a distinctive factor not only of the national Church, but of England itself, which had managed to define its identity. Such an identity was formally exposed in the Elizabethan Settlement and the Thirty Nine Articles.

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Launching a Politics of Terror: The Provincetown Portuguese and the Ku Klux Klan

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Abstract

Within the context of repression and fear in the Portuguese diaspora in the United States of America, this essay revisits an episode in 1920 where the Portuguese were terrorized because of their Catholicism, especially in Protestant New England. They were the victims of religious intolerance, discrimination, and even burning crosses at the hands of the local Ku Klux Klan in Provincetown, Massachusetts. Their retaliation in 1923 coincided with the KKK's second phase of terrorist activity, expanding their targets beyond the post-Civil War emancipated blacks to Catholics and Jews. The Klan's agenda of terror, aggression, and anxiety represented its physical support of the exclusionary rhetoric of Progressive politics of the 1920s, which culminated in the Immigration Acts of 1917-1924, aiming to virtually close America's doors to Southern Europeans, and an endorsement of the rhetoric of eugenics, voicing a growing dedication to reinforcing the boundaries of "whiteness." The Provincetown episode reveals how Portuguese immigrants were received in Massachusetts to better understand the transmission and reception of Portuguese culture in America.

Keywords: The Portuguese in Provincetown, the Ku Klux Klan and Catholicism, the Ku Klux Klan and Eugenics Discourse, the Ku Klux Klan's Second Wave, Fiery Cross in Provincetown.

Resumo

No contexto da repressão e medo da diáspora portuguesa nos Estados Unidos da América, este artigo revisita um episódio de 1920 em que os portugueses foram aterrorizados pela prática do seu catolicismo, especialmente na protestante Nova Inglaterra. Os portugueses foram vítimas de discriminação, intolerância religiosa, testemunhando mesmo a incineração de cruzes pelos membros do Ku Klux Klan local em Provincetown, Massachusetts. A sua retaliação em 1923 coincidiu com a segunda fase da atividade terrorista do Ku Klux Klan, ampliando os seus alvos, além dos negros emancipados pós-guerra civil, a católicos e judeus. A agenda de terror, agressão e ansiedade do Klan reiterou o seu apoio físico da retórica de exclusão na política progressista dos anos 20 do século XX, que culminou nas Leis da Imigração de 1917-1924, visando essencialmente à exclusão da entrada de imigrantes vindos da Europa do Sul nos Estados Unidos da América, e a um apoio da retórica da eugenia, dando voz àqueles que defendiam o reforço das fronteiras da América branca. O episódio em Provincetown revela como os imigrantes portugueses foram recebidos em Massachusetts no sentido de melhor compreender a transmissão e receção da cultura portuguesa nos Estados Unidos da América.

Palavras-chave: Os portugueses em Provincetown, o Ku Klux Klan e o catolicismo, o Ku Klux Klan e o discurso da eugenia, a segunda vaga do Ku Klux Klan, A "Fiery Cross" em Provincetown.

Introduction

Within the context of repression and fear in the Portuguese diaspora in the United States of America, this article aims at revisiting Protestant New England in 1920 where the Catholic Portuguese were victims of religious intolerance, discrimination, and even burning crosses by the local Ku Klux Klan in Provincetown, Massachusetts.

Their retaliation took place in 1923, at a time when the KKK was in its second phase of terrorist activity, searching for new targets – Catholics and Jews – other than the post-Civil War emancipated blacks. Their first reign of terror, launched in 1868, aimed at keeping blacks from exercising their new voting rights. The Klan's agenda of terror, aggression, and anxiety was its physical means of fulfilling its support of exclusionary rhetoric of Progressive politics of the 1920s, which culminated in the immigration acts of 1917-1924 that all but closed America's doors to Southern Europeans. Moreover, the Klan was endorsing the rhetoric of eugenics, voicing America's paranoia about the boundaries of whiteness to these darker southern Europeans who were not-as-white as their WASP hosts. This episode helps us understand how Portuguese immigrants were received there and how Portuguese culture was transmitted to and received in America.

The KKK did not distinguish between the Provincetown Portuguese, who had settled there a number of decades before the KKK's second wave of terrorist activity and the new wave of immigrant arrivals in the 1920s. The focus was, on the one hand, to terrorize Catholics and Jews, with no distinction between those who had been born in the USA or whether they had yet become naturalized American citizens or, on the other hand, if they were *greenhorns*, like those arriving at the immigration seaport processing centers in the 1920s. The KKK argued that there was simply no place for Catholicism and Judaism in the United States. Seen as having no claim to the American soil, there could be no consideration for citizenship rights and thus, the KKK were intent on disrupting their livelihoods, reopening the wounds of religious intolerance, and closing the borders on the new arrivals. This paper reviews documentation of the incident through the varied perspectives of Herman Melville, Leo Pap, and Mary Heaton Vorse.

The Second Phase of Ku Klux Klan Terror Targeted at Catholics and Jews – the Portuguese Community in Provincetown, Massachusetts

The Portuguese from the Azores began to move into New England at the end of the 18th century, settling primarily in Provincetown, Massachusetts, on the tip of Cape Cod, drawn by the whaling centers of New Bedford and Nantucket. Other Portuguese from Cape Verde joined the Azoreans and the 19th century is testimony to their collective contribution to the growth of the whaling industry, recorded by Herman Melville in the classic, *Moby-Dick*, and other fiction. Along with his own experiences as a seafaring man, the author draws upon this whaling background to contextualize his critique of the racism on board the whaling ships as well as his allusion to the presence of Azorean and Cape Verdean harpooners. While racial attitudes do not emerge in *Moby-Dick* (1851), in "The 'Gees,'" a story in the *Piazza Tales* (1856), the Cape Verdean Portuguese are victims of racism by the white sea captains.

Although Azoreans are known to have engaged in whaling for centuries before, the Sephardic Jews who settled down in Newport, Rhode Island, during the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries were instrumental in recruiting these Portuguese harpooners from the Azorean islands, thus jumpstarting a new pattern of immigration (Pap, 1981). In *The Portuguese-Americans*, Pap tells a story about Aaron Lopez and “one Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, a Jew who had come to Newport about the same time from Spain, were instrumental in introducing the sperm-oil industry to America” (Pap, 1981, p. 11). As Pap (1981) further argues,

the development of Newport under Aaron Lopez and his associates helped pave the way for the leading role which New England was to take in whaling in the nineteenth century, with New Bedford as the center. It is likely that the whaling ships operated by Lopez, like those going out from Nantucket and New Bedford in later years, recruited part of their crews in the Azores, and thus provided the ‘jumping board’ for some of the earliest Azorean settlers in the American colonies. (pp. 11-12)

With the waning of this lucrative industry after the middle of the 19th century, some of these Iberian sailors and harpooners began working in the fisheries in coastal New England, especially in the Massachusetts fishing centers of Gloucester and Provincetown. The settlement of the first Azoreans in Provincetown took place in the middle of the nineteenth century, as described by Pap (1981):

In Provincetown, on Cape Cod, where the Portuguese element constitutes the absolute majority of the population today, the first Portuguese birth appears in the church records in 1853, but a few Portuguese may have settled in that fishing town well before the middle of the century; by 1869, forty-four of ninety-four children born in the local parish were of Portuguese parentage. (p. 22)

The Portuguese population increased steadily from there to the point that the “Church records in Provincetown show that in 1872, thirty-five out of 102 births in that fishing community were children of Portuguese” and that, “according to a survey of the Provincetown schools done in the 1870s, [...] 196 out of 812 schoolchildren were then Portuguese” (Pap, 1981, p. 60). This growth in the Portuguese population in Provincetown and within the southeastern region of New England in the late 1800s, along with the influx of non-English-speaking immigrants from French Canada, Italy, Czarist Russia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Germany, and Sweden would become a major concern for the Anglo *nativists*, who believed, like the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s during the Progressive era, that this change in demographics would be seen as a weakening of their grip on the country by the invading hordes – most of them illiterate. The Immigration Acts passed between 1917 and 1924 reflect the reaction of those who considered themselves to be the legal custodians of the land against this immigration from Eastern and Southern European countries in a desperate attempt to maintain control of the nation. The members of the Ku Klux Klan then implemented the politics of terror aimed at the Catholics and Jews arriving from some of these countries, bullying and terrorizing these minorities. Town records for Provincetown in July of 1920 indicate that the “Ku Klux Klan burned a cross in front of Provincetown’s

Catholic Church, signaling an animosity between Protestants and Catholics, between Yankee New Englanders and Portuguese Immigrants” (Provincetown History Timeline – Dates at Glance). These Yankees are more accurately described as white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, otherwise known as WASPs.

Mary Heaton Vorse (1874-1966) also documented this episode in *Time and the Town: A Provincetown Chronicle* (1942/1990), similarly noting that the Portuguese were discriminated against because of their Catholicism, especially in Protestant New England. In addition to religious intolerance, the Portuguese school children were also victims of discrimination in the local schools. Chapter eighteen of her book, “The Portuguese of Provincetown”, begins with the following description:

In Provincetown a fiery cross was burned in front of the Catholic church. This act of intolerance was one of the greatest tragedies that had ever happened here. The Ku Klux Klan was powerful in Rhode Island and demonstrated against the influx of French Canadians from Canada after the immigration from Europe had been limited. The dormant prejudice against foreigners awoke in this atmosphere of persecution. (p. 160)

Not only does this passage support the argument that the Ku Klux Klan was targeting Catholics and burning a cross in front of their church during this second phase of its reign as a constant reminder that the nativists were in charge and could not only boss them around but also terrorize them. Moreover, the “fiery cross” episode was a reminder that the legal system and politics were still under control although the Portuguese population may have grown and the schools in Provincetown had registered nearly one-fourth of its attendance by Portuguese students. The message was that Anglos would prevail.

Vorse (1942/1990) described the fiery cross episode as “one of the greatest tragedies that had ever happened” in Provincetown (p. 160). She had moved to the city in 1907, at the age of 33 as described in *Time and the Town*, and lived in Provincetown for another 59 years until her death, and was a sponsor of the Provincetown Players, a troupe of actors. She lived among the Portuguese of Provincetown for six decades. This act of psychological violence, which she described as a tragedy, had shattered the ambiance of racial integration that had been thriving in Provincetown. In her view, the dormant racial prejudice had been reawakened and this did not bode well for the town or the country, reflecting the nativist fear of being overshadowed by the minorities. As Vorse (1949/1990) notes, losing their hegemony to the changing demographics in the country and particularly in Provincetown was a clear and present danger in the mind of the KKK:

The latent animosity of a dying dominant race, for the more fertile race is supplanting it, flared up bitterly. The Portuguese had emigrated in numbers and now no longer needed to, to keep their balance of power. They had big families where the New Englanders had not and so they were bound to prevail. (p. 161)

Vorse goes on to voice her admiration for the Portuguese as hard-working, orderly people with a “dignity and courage and beauty”, noting that the “gifts which they

have brought to this country are incalculable” (Vorse, 1942/1990, p. 162). She discusses their full integration into Provincetown American society and even questions the 1920s Eugenics discourse endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan, stating that “Fayal, Flores, Pico, São Miguel began over seventy years ago sending their *handsome, clean-blooded people* to us and have been doing so ever since. ‘The Lisbons,’ people from Portugal, came much later” (italics added; Vorse, 1942/1990, p. 163). This new wave of Southern European immigrants in the 1920s, notes Marouf A. Hasian, had “tainted... blood” and were carriers of “parasitic tainted germplasm” (Hasian, 1996, pp. 93, 49-50). The Southern European immigrants who were denied entrance into the USA in the aftermath of the 1917-1924 Immigration Acts by the nativists, two decades later, were seen by Vorse as worthy and dignified. Chapter eleven, “Clan Avellar,” demonstrates her unquestionable admiration for the Portuguese in Provincetown, where her own and the Avellar family are described as one big, united family:

Besides my own family I had another, the Avellars. Our two families were so close we scarcely knew where the Vorse-O’Briens left off and the Avellars began. Vorses and Avellars ate interchangeably in either home. They often slept in each other’s houses. (Vorse, 1942/1990, p. 104)

These observations and experiences are narrated from the point of view of an educated woman, a writer/playwright who lived among Portuguese people and who knew them well. Vorse’s chronicle contrasts with the distant, cold glance typical of American fictional texts – what Homi Bhabha (1994), a renowned postcolonial studies scholar, coined as the “colonial gaze” – a byproduct of a racist, segregated multicultural America who looked at Otherness with colonial eyes (Silva, 2008, pp. 21-83). The rhetoric and ideology that framed the fiery cross incident in Provincetown is devoid of Vorse’s open-minded views, revealing instead a Ku Klux Klan attempt at inflicting fear and anxiety on Catholics and Jews.

The Historical and Ideological Framework for the Second Wave of Ku Klux Klan Terrorist Activity

The arrival of the “undesirables” from mostly Eastern and Southern European countries as well as from the Middle East reawakened or, rather, reinvigorated the KKK activity. Current scholarship on the Ku Klux Klan (Pegram, 2011; Baker, 2011) contextualizes the launching of a major revival to address the new trends in American immigration policies, more than three decades after the end of the Reconstruction period of the 1870s. As George Marlin has shown,

In 1915, the Klan was revamped in the image of the old Know-Nothings and by the early Twenties could boast a nationwide membership of 4 million. Its newspaper, The Fiery Cross, had a circulation of 400,000 – larger than a few urban dailies. (Marlin, 2011, p. 1)

The Klan also flourished in non-Confederate states, with more interest in the North and Midwest, and less in the Pacific region. Pennsylvania was the realm of the Klan, considering that this state’s “membership alone is credibly estimated as at

least a quarter of a million” (Jenkins, 2015, p. 1). The KKK rhetoric espoused that the “undesirables” who

had to be driven from our nation’s shores now included Catholics and Jews, as well as African-Americans. This explains why so many Klan chapters were organized in urban centers north of the Mason-Dixon Line. Members feared the growing ballot-box power of immigrant Catholics and Jews. (Marlin, 2011, p. 1)

This fear of the Catholics as “the boogie men” is attributed to the Klan’s rehearsing of the

ancient charges of American nativism about Catholic evils, including the Inquisition, the seditious secret oaths taken by the Knights of Columbus, and the conspiratorial nature of the Jesuit order. (Jenkins, 2015, p. 1)

In a detailed and intriguing encyclopedia entry titled, “Anti-Catholicism in the United States,” Mark S. Massa has listed the “three different types of anti-Catholic nativism that have enjoyed a long and quite vibrant life in North America.” The first, he notes, is a “cultural distrust of Catholics, based on an understanding of North American public culture rooted in a profoundly British and Protestant ordering of human society” (Massa, 2016, p. 1). The second one, he writes, is an

intellectual distrust of Catholics based on a set of epistemological and philosophical ideas first elucidated in the English (Lockean) and Scottish (“Common Sense Realist”) Enlightenment and the British Whig tradition of political thought.” (Massa, 2016, p. 1)

And, lastly, a

nativist distrust of Catholics as deviant members of American society, a perception central to the Protestant mainstream’s duty of ‘boundary maintenance’ (to utilize Emile Durkheim’s reading of how ‘outsiders’ maintain social control). (Massa, 2016, p. 1-2)

Massa’s research to ascertain the source of this cultural animus towards the Catholics lies in the cultural foundations of American society, which is deeply rooted in American colonial culture and literature. Phrases such as the “Whore of Babylon” or the “Popery” referring to the Pope and Catholicism are rampant in American colonial texts written by some of the Founding Fathers of America, as Cotton Mather (1663-1728) in *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1698) and Michael Wigglesworth (1631-1705) in *The Day of Doom* (1701), among others. “The perception of Roman Catholic faith, practice, and polity as superstitious, undemocratic and ‘un-American,’” he notes, “is as old as North American culture itself.” Furthermore, he argues,

Scholars pressing this cultural explanation locate the deepest roots of the anti-Catholic bias in the settling of British North America in the 17th century. Distrust of Catholicism [...] was transported from the Old World to the New by British Puritans, whose bitter memories of the 16th century Catholic persecution of their forebearers by ‘Bloody Mary’ Tudor, the treasons of the infamous

'Gunpowder Plot,' and the Spanish Armada were regularly refreshed through reading texts like Foxe's Book of Martyrs. (Massa, 2016, p. 15)

In "The Rhetoric of Eugenics and the Portuguese in New England: A Case Study" (Silva, 2016), I have shown that this anti-Catholic mindset was gaining momentum throughout the 19th century and culminating, in a full-blown manner, during the Progressive era of the 1920s. I analyzed why the Portuguese communities in New England were repulsed by the study, *Two Portuguese Communities in New England* (Taft, 1923) by the criminologist and sociologist of the University of Illinois, Donald R. Taft. The strong reaction by the Portuguese to this study is intriguing for two reasons. First, it suggests that the Portuguese in New England were mindful of what the dominant culture was saying or writing about them; and, second, because they had the courage to get together as a group to demonstrate and use the press to express their grievances. This essay argues that Taft's study supports the exclusionary rhetoric of Progressive politics of the 1920s, which culminated in the Immigration Acts of 1917-1924. The rhetoric voices America's paranoia about the boundaries of whiteness and draws on the further rhetoric of Eugenics, which was deeply ingrained in Anglo-American thought. In addition, Taft's application of Eugenics discourses to the Portuguese supported Progressive politics by formulating an intellectual, scientific basis for this rhetoric of exclusion. These scientific formulations, as noted earlier, are at the core of Marouf A. Hasian's study and may be complemented with, for example, Matt Wray's *Not Quite White: White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness* (2006) and *Evolution and Eugenics in American Literature and Culture, 1880-1940: Essays on Ideological Conflict and Complicity* (2003), edited by Lois A. Cuddy and Claire M. Roche.

To begin with, Taft's (1923) study analyzes the high Portuguese infant mortality rate in the urban community of Fall River, Massachusetts and in the rural community of Portsmouth, Rhode Island –where thousands of Portuguese immigrants had settled in the 19th century. While the Fall River ethnic enclave included immigrants mostly from the island of São Miguel, the Portsmouth immigrants were from the nearest Azorean island of Faial, but of Flemish extraction. Taft evinces a particular bias towards the Fall River community, where he attributes the high infant mortality rate to the inability of the Portuguese mothers to communicate in English; their illiteracy and ignorance; and their darker complexion and alleged African blood. In the United States allegations of African descent in the Portuguese contributed to the racial discourse where the unofficial "one-drop rule," any trace of African ancestry, meant immediate disqualification for white privileges.

Possibly one of the most powerful rhetorical strategies employed by eugenicists in the early twentieth-century was to portray prospective immigrants hailing from Southern European countries as parasitic carriers of "tainted germ plasm" that threatened the purity of native Americans, a contamination that would ostensibly weaken the fitness of Americans of Anglo stock. Like the Irish before them, these Southern Europeans had to earn their "whiteness". The Portuguese were no exception since the image of the "black Portygee" was widely present in narratives featuring the Portuguese (Silva, 2016, pp. 21-83). These immigrants were said to be

“permanent parasites on the American body politic, forever tainted by their blood and incapable of having their condition ameliorated” (Hasian, 1996, p. 93). Taft also viewed the Fall River Portuguese as superstitious and ignorant, arguing

that Portuguese children die because of ignorance; Portuguese adults are exploited because of ignorance; their women continue their lives of toil and endless child-bearing because of their ignorance; their children are backward in school through ignorance; and very many of the other tragedies of their lives are the product of ignorance. (Taft, 1923, p. 339)

These were, in essence, the scholarly and scientific arguments that the Ku Klux Klan adopted to exclude, terrorize, and denigrate, among other communities, the Catholic Southern Europeans.

Since the Klan “was not just an order to defend America but also a campaign to protect and celebrate Protestantism. It was a *religious* order” (Baker, 2011, pp. 5-6), the crusade to restore America’s position as a Protestant nation was motivated by the fact that the arrival of Jews and Catholics from 1890 to 1914 had increased enormously, therefore the KKK responded to this trend with nativism and Protestantism. The Klan focused on tracing the “heritage of America to its Nordic and Anglo-Saxon roots to claim that the white race bore the responsibility for the development of the nation and Protestantism” (Baker, 2011, p. 32). During this second wave of KKK resurgence, Catholics and other organized religious and social groups were seen as the embodiment of evil, hence the Klan’s use of fiery crosses in eradicating, namely,

immigration, alcohol, threats to the public school, attacks on Protestantism, Catholicism, Bolshevism, and Judaism, to name a few. The artifact reassured the Klansman that the universe was structured in the way he hoped. Its glow symbolized a world in which the Klan was the singular force of good and the order would triumph. The fire signified that Christ was ‘the light of the world’. (Baker, 2011, p. 75)

Their overall illiteracy and ignorance were additional traits that posed a threat to the alleged intellectual superiority and literacy of Anglo-Saxon nativists. In the Klan’s view, Catholics and Jews sought to destroy America, considering that

[t]he Celts, Mediterranean peoples, and Alpines were unstable, uneducated, and, above all, devoted to the Catholic Church. Because of their development in Europe, their lack of education, and their loyalty to the church, these groups differed too drastically from the American group mind, such that they could not assimilate to the norms and mores of the nation. (Baker, 2011, p. 78)

The “old time” Catholics, which included the Irish and even the Portuguese who arrived in America decades before this second phase of Klan activity, however, would not sit back and surrender to this ideology and violence.

The Reaction of the Provincetown Portuguese

In due time, the Provincetown Knights of Columbus, founded on 17 June 1923, and the local St. Peter's Club retaliated with non-violence. In "Year Even Notes – Town of Provincetown", the following entry describes the event:

1923 – Knights of Columbus presence is seen in Provincetown and has confrontation with KKK.

The Knights of Columbus is organized in Provincetown this year. After the Ku Klux Klan burned a fiery cross in front of the Catholic Church, then Portuguese Catholics retaliated by organizing strongly in the Knights of Columbus, to show their strength, staged a 3 day Fourth of July celebration with a fair and fine fireworks.

The community support is also documented as follows:

[The Knights of Columbus] publicly appealed to every business in town to close for three hours on the afternoon of Good Friday – as they did each year – it's a safe bet that most proprietors complied, no matter their religious beliefs, if for no other reason than to keep the custom of Catholic shoppers". (277-277A Commercial Street)

Given the Portuguese 24% numerical advantage in this Cape Cod fishing town, they were keen on choosing

selectmen and tax assessors and [wanted]to see that the schools, so far as possible, had Catholic teachers. Some of the larger Portuguese employers refused to hire anyone who did not belong to the Knights of Columbus. (Vorse, 1990, p. 161).

For the first time, many Portuguese began to register and vote, realizing that the ballot box was the most powerful weapon in their hands to defeat the nativist incursions in their community. Although "politics could not be discussed at the Knights of Columbus meetings," when their "meetings adjourned, a meeting of the St. Peter's Club was called to order and politics were in order" (277-277A Commercial Street). Father John A. Silvia, pastor of St. Peter's, and Father James A. Coyle, we learn,

spoke at the meetings of the St. Peter's Club and explained the political facts of life to the members. The Portuguese of Provincetown were organized and they registered to vote, many for the first time. A slate of officers were put up for the 1925 election and practically the entire Town Hall was cleaned out and replaced by members of the St. Peter's Club. (277-277A Commercial Street)

Through the local changes in demographics in favor of the Portuguese coupled with a strong reason to express their grievances and, eventually, fighting back, the Provincetown Portuguese refused to be ostracized and threatened.

The ‘Outlawed’ Klan and its Current Means of Action

The Ku Klux Klan today is largely defunct and nowhere near as powerful as it was in the 1960s, the 1920s or even in the last quarter of the 19th century. Membership estimates of the Klan are difficult to come up with even if there are a few local chapters located mostly in the Southeastern and Midwestern United States. It is a legally allowed entity today but very much a fringe group and any act of violence on its part is subject to legal prosecution. Since 2016, it gained greater momentum and was reinvigorated during the Donald Trump campaign and presidency. Even if after the Civil Rights movement of the late 1950s-1960s it went underground in most of the United States, it has persisted in asserting its intolerance in many, many ways. According to Jenkins, the more recent documented activity of the Klan took place with the emergence of the Civil Rights movement: “Only in the 1950s did the Southern Klans reform to fight desegregation” (Jenkins, 2015). The Movements for Civil and Women’s Rights as well as an emerging focus on ethnicity and multiculturalism have fed the fears of the Klan.

Nowadays, the Klan still manifests its intolerant ways, nonetheless, even if it is not that easy to point our finger directly to the Klan. What we do know is that in the late 20th and 21st century America, movements such as the Moral Majority, and the Tea Party, far-right Republican politicians like Newt Gingrich, etc. have voiced their intolerance – whether it was through their encouragement of bombing abortion clinics, the killings of a few doctors who performed abortions, to the killing of a few individuals from sexual minorities, etc. During this period, America was – and continues to be – intolerant and this radicalism has come to the fore through public figures in politics and religion, trickling down to the average citizen who brutalizes or kills in the name of social prejudice towards the Other. The Klan’s former obsession with Blacks, Jews and Catholics has shifted to embrace these new targets. Names such as Jerry Falwell and Jesse Helms are just two who embody this rhetoric and ideology of hatred toward Otherness. Allen Schindler and Matthew Shepard are two renowned young gay men who were brutally killed in the name of this intolerance bringing national and international attention to hate crime legislation at the state and federal levels, signed by President Barack Obama on October 28, 2009. Despite denial of the rumors of KKK support for the current Trump administration, America today has retrenched into another conservative phase and racism is strong once again. From the mass demonstrations against Trump’s election to violent incidents as the one in Charlottesville, Virginia and the eradication of Confederate symbols and statues, the United States is once again a socially divided country. In an intriguing article, “A House Still Divided,” Ibram X. Kendi reminds us of Abraham Lincoln’s warnings in 1858 about the maintenance – or not – of slavery and how it divided the entire nation. Slavery officially ended with the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, but has racism ended, too, especially during Donald Trump’s campaign and administration? While Lincoln saved the house divided, he writes, “the racism that buttressed slavery remained in the living constitution of American policy and the American mind. The house remained divided, remained separate and unequal” (Kendi, 2018, p. 84). He goes on to state that

It remains divided today. One hundred sixty years after Lincoln warned of the dangers of disunion brought on by slavery, Americans must bear witness to racism's destructive power. This government cannot endure, permanently half racist and half antiracist. (Kendi, 2018, p. 84)

Kendi reminds us of the recent assaults racism produced in America and how they recall those perpetuated during Lincoln's presidency:

"I do not regret what I did," Dylann Roof journaled six weeks after killing nine churchgoers in Charleston, South Carolina. America may not be on the precipice of civil war, but the events in Charlottesville, Virginia, last year revealed that there are white nationalists who are prepared for violent conflict, convinced that demographic shifts will deprive white Americans of their power and privilege. They came out into the public square chanting, "You will not replace us!" and "Blood and soil!" (Kendi, 2018, p. 84)

Now as in the 1920s or late 1850s/1860s, we bear witness to the resurgence of the customary American pattern of Anglo nativists versus the darker, racialized Other. Issues of who is in control, who has access to white privileges, and the concomitant nativist fear of being overpowered by the minorities remain pretty much the same today as in the past. Kendi ends his essay writing that he "believe[s] as Lincoln did, that we can repair our divided house". "We can and must", he further writes, "believe in our ability to make the nation antiracist despite the ascendancy of a racist president who pursues a racist agenda. Did we brave all then to falter now?" (Kendi, 2018, p. 85).

What is quite evident nowadays in the United States is that the KKK brand of intolerance, hatred, and violence is back again even if the Klan is not the official sponsor. The fiery cross burned in front of a Portuguese Catholic church in Provincetown in 1920 is a mere footnote in the history of Klan aggression – and perhaps the only one known and aimed at this ethnic minority – but a substantiation that even some old-time, accommodated Catholics who had been living in the United States for decades or, at least a century, were reminded that naturalization and melting into the euphemistic melting pot were insufficient protection from the Klan's politics of fear, intolerance and racism.

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Ensino de Línguas Estrangeiras

Intercultural Communicative Competence – What you need to know to bring it on...

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Abstract

While the inseparability of language and culture may seem apparent to foreign language teachers, current research reveals the widespread struggle and adversity inherent in including culture in the foreign language syllabus. Teachers who are determined to challenge the administration and prescriptive schools of language teaching have been mobilizing efforts to clearly demonstrate the benefits of investing in language use for real communication in an intercultural context. The heightened awareness of the place for intercultural communicative competence (ICC) is a relatively and until quite recently silent revolution of individual teachers of foreign languages and other subjects and a concerted effort at reform from within the education system, sustained by UNESCO's Global Goals for Sustainable Development and a number of innovative European Union and international projects that are researching and promoting ICC as a fundamental area of know-how. Whether the motivation is stronger employability for graduates or recognition of the essential pragmatics involved in ICC for a global citizenry, or both, it is unambiguously one of the more pressing requirements in a new paradigm of knowledge that foresees the motivation for using a foreign language beyond getting a good grade on a test based on syntax.

Keywords: Intercultural Communicative Competence, Beliefs about Language Learning Index, pragmatics, global citizenship, motivation.

Resumo

Enquanto a relação inseparável entre língua e cultura pode ser evidente para os professores de língua estrangeira, estudos atuais revelam um conflito e adversidade generalizada inerentes à inclusão da cultura no programa de língua estrangeira. Os professores estão determinados a desafiar a administração e as escolas prescritivas do ensino da língua têm mobilizado esforços numa demonstração clara dos benefícios em investir no uso da língua para uma comunicação real num contexto intercultural. A progressiva consciencialização do lugar que existe para a competência comunicativa intercultural (CCI) é uma revolução relativamente recente e ainda silenciosa por parte de alguns professores de línguas estrangeiras e outras disciplinas, juntamente com o esforço reformista concertado emanado do sistema educativo. A investigação e promoção da CCI como uma área fundamental do saber tem o apoio dos Objetivos Globais para o Desenvolvimento Sustentável da UNESCO, bem como um número de projetos inovadores internacionais ou da União Europeia. Não é claro perceber se um dos maiores requisitos num novo paradigma do conhecimento, que prevê a motivação para o uso da língua estrangeira como algo mais do que apenas obter uma boa nota num teste sobre sintaxe, é a motivação que implica maior possibilidade de emprego para os licenciados, ou se

é o reconhecimento da pragmática essencial envolvida na CCI para a cidadania global, ou se são ambos.

Palavras-chave: competência comunicativa intercultural, crenças sobre o índice de aprendizagem da língua, pragmática, cidadania global, motivação.

Introduction

In 1999, just at the turn of the century, UNESCO determined 21 February for the celebration of International Mother Language Day, first launched in 2000 and followed in 2001 by the Council of Europe's inauguration of the Year of Languages to honor all of the languages used within the European Union on European Language Day on 26 September. With migration, this could feasibly include all the languages in the world, with both dates aiming to celebrate diversity. With later official celebrations of a Year of Language in the U.S.A. and Africa in 2005 and 2006, respectively, the 2008 International Year of Languages aimed to posit language as a prerequisite for our coexistence (Crystal, 2011, p. 12), much like air, food, and water are needed for survival.

English, especially as a *lingua franca* between two or more other language users for maximum communication possibilities, is recognized as an international language and, despite the given current underlying resentment deriving from the Brexit decision and the Trump election, the perceived imperialism of English culture is rejected notwithstanding routine use of the language. Even at an institutional level, including overt culture in the foreign language syllabus was met with adversity in the adjustment of course titles and content in higher education to meet standards for Bologna in 2005, when courses previously listed as *English Language and Cultures I, II*, and so on, were respectively transformed into subjects like *English I and English II* (cf. Arau Ribeiro, 2009, pp. 7-8).

Nevertheless, given the need for communication amongst different cultures in a globalized economy using technology, it is this very communication that obliges society to find ways to develop educational projects based on growing awareness of ourselves and of other peoples, wholly imbued with cultural influences. Beyond tolerance, understanding and respect for cultural differences and interrelated cultures may influence the construction of beliefs that can better support individual foreign language learning and the much-needed development of intercultural communicative competence.

Despite the conviction amongst foreign language (FL) teachers and researchers on the inseparability of language and culture (cf. Jiang, 2000), this position is actually one of constant struggle. The administrations and prescriptive schools of language teaching focusing on the separation of language and culture force practitioners who are determined to challenge this position to stand up to this adversity. This mobilization will be demonstrated throughout this paper which aims to better illustrate the place for intercultural communicative competence (ICC) in the FL classroom and the benefits of this investment in language use for real communication in an intercultural context, drawing on specific projects and relevant research.

Internationalization through ICC

Motivation for teaching culture and ICC may be greater employability for graduates although the Finnish Center for International Mobility (CIMO) (CIMO, 2014) found that the most valued recruitment criteria were “reliability, the ability to access and handle information, and problem-solving skills, [...] communication skills and co-operative skills” (p. 19). In fact, “[a]mong the internationally active employers [surveyed], half consider international experience an important recruitment criterion” (p. 19), which serves as a reminder that mobility is not the only answer to growing internationalization. Based on the unavoidable megatrends identified as changing demographics, resource scarcity, technological planetarism, and emerging markets, CIMO affirmed that “diverse skills, adaptation, and curiosity help workers understand how the global arena functions” (p. 11). The message for higher education, where just 2% of students (Deer & Lombardo, 2017) take the opportunity to study in another country, should be an urgency to provide added-value at a local level in broadening horizons for the remaining 98% of students to attain these skill sets for productivity and resilience.

Internationalization at the local level begins with *internationalization of the curriculum* (IoC), described as “the incorporation of international, intercultural and/or global dimensions into the content of the curriculum as well as the learning outcomes, assessment tasks, teaching methods, and support services of a program of studies” (Leask, 2015, in Beelen, 2015). Also supported at a local level is the recent re-definition of internationalization at home (IaH) (Crowther, 2001, in Beelen & Jones, 2015), which proposes “*the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments*” (Beelen & Jones, 2015, p. 76, italics added). As a tool, and once it is built into the compulsory curriculum with a focus on outcomes, IaH would engage with existing cultural transformations and practices (Coelho & Arau Ribeiro, forthcoming), due to internationalization although it is not dependent on the incoming students themselves. These practical foundations seem to provide ample support for teachers who aim to include culture in their language courses but who may be experiencing resistance; the elasticity of the informal curriculum can be used to incorporate the intercultural aspects that characterize the ideal citizen.

Note that the international and intercultural dimensions of IaH refer not only to essentialist views of culture, which offer training models for business purposes and profiles of national identities (cf. Hofstede, 1991; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998; Lewis, 2002; Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2003), but also to non-essentialist views of culture, where the cultures that communicate with one another do so in multiple ways and through multiple affiliations (cf. Morgado, Gomes, & Arau Ribeiro, 2016; and Arau Ribeiro, Loch, & Pal, 2016, for a comprehensive discussion). Non-essentialist views, like those promoted by Guilherme (2002), Holliday, Hyde, and Kullman (2004), Kramsch (2004), Kramsch and Steffensen (2008), Bizarro and Braga (2011), Bizarro (2012), Liddicoat and Scarino (2013), Teixeira (2013), and Sarmento (2015), further reject what essentialists see as the stable or immutable nature of culture and cultural identities; instead, they posit that language users in interaction are in the process

of becoming, making, and interpreting meaning (cf. Kecskes, 2013, for a cogent argument for a field of study now recognized as *intercultural pragmatics*).

Before looking into some projects that promote ICC, we will examine perceptions of learner needs based on their beliefs. Research into the beliefs of students and teachers in the teaching and learning of foreign languages gives the academic community an opportunity to reflect on the connection between beliefs and actions as well as the inseparability of language and culture in the process of developing ICC in these students. This connection is due to the paradoxical nature of beliefs and the fact that beliefs, culture, and values are intrinsically related. While beliefs are influenced by cultural heritage, they also influence the creation of values and cultural framework although people do not always act according to their beliefs.

Beliefs about language learning: Why they matter in your classroom

In the field of language acquisition (LA), studies about the beliefs about teaching and learning a FL began in the 1980s with studies by Horowitz (1985) and Wenden (1986). In Brazil (cf. Barcelos & Kalaja, 2011), similar work started in the early 1990s and the studies have been consolidated as a significant aspect of the processes of learning and teaching (Barcelos, 2004, 2006, 2007). Overall, the critical and affective filters through which experiences are interpreted and given (new) meanings will impact the classroom experience. The filters revealed through these studies are themselves linked to values, culture, personal history, and beliefs (Bastos, 2007), understood as:

forma[s] de pensamento, construções da realidade, maneiras de ver e perceber o mundo e seus fenômenos, co-construídas em nossas experiências resultantes de um processo interativo de interpretação e (re)significação. Como tal, crenças são sociais (mas também individuais), dinâmicas, contextuais e paradoxais.¹⁶ (Barcelos, 2006, p. 18)

Recent research carried out with Portuguese students of English lends to a better understanding of these notions through the analysis of responses to questionnaires in which many students seem to believe that grammar is the most important part of language learning although some of their narratives show that grammar is one factor in the difficulty of learning. One student (C) further wrote that “grammar and dictations are what we did most frequently. That’s where I learned although I didn’t know how to speak” (C, 27 April 2017). Her narrative shows that, despite having studied grammar, she does not think it was enough to be able to communicate orally in English.

To better understand the importance attributed to grammar, some students who

¹⁶ “ways of thinking, constructions of reality, ways of seeing and understanding the world and phenomena that are co-constructed in experiences that result from the interactive process of interpretation and (re)attributing meaning. As such, beliefs are social and also individual, dynamic, contextual, and paradoxical”. (Barcelos, 2006: 18, translation by the authors)

were divided on the topic were interviewed and asked to justify their beliefs in the following extract of a small group interview:

Interviewer: So can you learn English with a focus on grammar?

A: I think so.

P: I don't think so.

A: By trying to **imitate...** I think what is most important to learn English is **really listening or speaking very frequently**. We can transmit an idea that might be wrong; that happens a lot when we speak with foreigners and they try to speak Portuguese. **They make many mistakes but we understand what they mean and I think this is important**. That's what happens with me. I can transmit an idea in English and the idea gets there, but it's wrong. [a string of Portuguese segments with syntactical errors] In terms of grammar, there are loads of mistakes but the message got there.

P: I don't agree. I think grammar is fundamental. It's what makes up a language. [*Na carro* – *In the car* (with the wrong gender)] doesn't exist so if I want to conjugate a verb and I don't [do it correctly], **that's not speaking correctly so, to me, it's the basis**. Grammar is the basis.

L: What's most important is to **get your message across**.

Interviewer: So, L, you think that the message is what's most important?

L: I think so. Of course, grammar as the basis of the language is important.

P: It's the basis. With grammar you can begin to learn.

(Interview on 30 May 2017, bold added)

The students interviewed are divided and do not seem to reach a consensus; while some believe that grammar is important, “the basis of communication”, others believe it is more important to “get the message across”. During the conversation, P defends the belief that you need to study grammar as the “basis” although, beyond the importance of grammar, his narrative describes activities that students need to do to learn as “read articles, books, and talk to someone in English”, all of which reflect steps toward growing intercultural communicative competence.

Given the paradoxical nature of beliefs, you do not always behave according to your beliefs although experiences themselves are interpreted based on what you know or believe (Araújo, 2006). Nevertheless, some studies show that, where there is divergence between beliefs and actions, there is usually a lack of motivation and no firm belief in effective results (Lima, 2006), as in the case of student M, who said:

My colleagues began to get it and I didn't. Teachers tried to help me with extra attention but I didn't feel motivated enough and that is why I never have been able to understand/learn [apanhar] anything because I was already far behind. I didn't have the basics. (Narrative, 27 April 2017)

Her narrative reveals the interference of her classroom experience and the way action and belief are interrelated in her concept of learning and knowing a language. These conceptions reinforce the importance of studying the beliefs of students and teachers to understand how the beliefs can help in the process of ICC development

given that interculturality is defined as a “mechanism” that blends the acquisition of a majority culture with the subsistence and respect for other cultures (Malheiros in Oliveira, 2014). This seems to imply that teachers will be better prepared to interact with their students and to help them to develop their intercultural communicative competences if they understand the specificities of their students’ cultures, the way they interfere in the creation and/or (re)construction of beliefs which in turn can lead to actions that condition or modify the learning process.

Navarro and Thornton (2011, p. 291) suggest that the interaction between learners and/or with their teachers can generate new beliefs, can help the learner appropriate certain beliefs or even refine an existing belief. Student P reported that, “In the classes I felt comfortable in some classes depending on the teacher. I had good and bad teachers, so my mode in the classes was influence by that” (Narrative, 27 April 2017), while student C said that, “in my opinion, the role of the teacher is fundamental in our learning since it is what most motivates us and helps us to overcome difficulties” (Narrative, 27 April 2017). These narrative bytes correspond with their writing on how they felt in the classroom, showing the importance of listening to students and just how that teacher-student (T-S) and student-student (S-S) interaction can lead to better understanding of their beliefs and actions while simultaneously influencing the teaching and/or learning of a foreign language. While learners can appropriate an existing belief and, thus, adopt a different stance that may facilitate the learning process, it is not clear to which extent they will continue to adopt new beliefs (Navarro & Thornton, 2011, pp. 288-289).

In assessing the needs for context, teachers may consciously help by appropriating new beliefs and refining existing beliefs through reflection (Aragão, 2011) or through affordances (Peng, 2011), which are the action opportunities that are understood by the learners as something useful that can provide engagement (Silva, 2015: 4). As such, teaching practice and activities can work as instances of affordance that help to reconstruct a belief that contributes to learning beyond the feeling of belonging to a group (Peng, 2011, p. 316).

The perspectives of Araújo (2011) and Silva (2015) are reflected in the following narratives since these students believe that their teachers are responsible for motivating and/or keeping the students motivated to learn the foreign language.

The teacher should identify student needs and promote and orient their methods for working that really correspond with the needs of the students. (A, 27 April 2017)

The professor must transmit his knowledge, must speak in English and must clarify student’s doubts. (P, 27 January 2017)

I think that the role of the teacher is important to motivate students [to learn] that language we really don’t know anything about it. They have to understand the English culture but sometimes they also have to explain a certain “word” as it is related to Portuguese so that we can understand what is being talked about. So we have to go [to class?] and listen to what the teacher is saying and reduce that distance between student and teacher. There are difficult teachers. I remember that from the 5th to the 9th grade I had a really bad teacher and I

didn't like going to class but it was mandatory and I really didn't like it because she was really bad. It's like M says – there are excellent teacher but the difficulty in exchanging words in English with them [talking with them] leaves you rather in silence. (N, 30 May 2017)

Studies into the beliefs about the context of teaching and learning languages tend to link these beliefs with student and teacher actions to reflect their attitudes, build on past experiences, and project them as hopes and expectations. Some studies try to understand the student beliefs in terms of needing to travel to a country where English is primarily spoken to really learn the language (Giménez, 1994), or the (im) possibility of learning English in public schools (Coelho, 2005), or even in terms of fluency (Teixeira da Silva, 2000), the use of English for speaking or just for reading or assessment in English (Zolnier, 2012), the use of the L1 in FL classes (Miranda, 2012), the role of grammar (Souza, 2007), and conflicting student and teacher beliefs (Miranda, 2005).

Given these considerations, interest in the topic of beliefs in teaching and learning a FL can be justified by at least three reasons. First, research into beliefs about language learning shows that it is possible to better understand the attitudes of your students rather than what they expect from the experience of learning and what happens to them in the process (Barcelos, 2006). Second, studies on the beliefs about learning a FL can help teachers to understand the complexity of processes in teaching and learning by orienting them toward the development of a more relevant and effective form of teaching (Zolnier, 2012, p. 433). Third, given that the beliefs, needs, and expectations of students are the factors that most affect teaching practice (Barcelos, 2006: 29), further studies are needed to reveal these beliefs and concerns so that these are better reflected in the teaching plans (Zolnier, 2012).

Discussion and Conclusions

The opportunity for reflection amongst teachers and students on their teaching and learning processes in a foreign language, their beliefs, and their actions can inform teachers who aim to prepare classes that include the international and intercultural dimension as recommended for internationalization at home. By becoming aware through reflection, exploration can begin to determine whether changes are needed to better harmonize the actions and expectations of teachers and students in favor of more successful FL teaching beyond the standard grammar and vocabulary lessons.

To fit ICC into the curricula, for example, teachers will need to consider not only the language itself as a communication system and a structural system but also its social practices so that language users come into contact with the associated norms/mores, the values/beliefs and ideologies, the social collectives, statuses, and roles, and the expectations for cultural inclusion. Manners of interacting will necessarily require strategies for politeness and interacting with others, which is being defined in intercultural pragmatics (cf. Kecskes, 2013).

To effectively use internationalization at home as a tool to harness ICC, some subtools may include exploring different contexts for contrasting and comparing

case studies and literature as well as “online collaboration, comparative research, local and foreign guest lecturers, and incoming student mobility” (Beelen, 2015). A number of projects are currently being carried out to create teaching modules, pilot the learning with students in higher education, and promote identified best practices for growing ICC. The EU projects ICCAGE – Intercultural Communicative Competence: A Competitive Advantage for Global Employability – specifically joined countries (in this case, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Spain, and Portugal) to study the international market – covering a variety of agent profiles including educators, researchers, and employers – and prepare and pilot modules to be used in class.

The modules are available at <http://iccageproject.wixsite.com/presentation/innovative-icc-educational-materials> as open online resources for telecollaboration and foreign language classes in Spanish or in English, covering topics ranging from living and working abroad, using English online, and working on multinational teams to dealing with time and space, launching a business abroad, and mediating across cultures, among others. The Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR) level is identified and the modules benefit from having been piloted, reviewed, and revised for the final version. These innovative outputs reinforce collaborative activities, like interpreting critical incidents, assessing new situations, understanding other perspectives, engaging in negotiations, creating, and planning, that promote ICC, curiosity, and resilience in the face of difficulties. Skill sets are the outcomes projected for the teaching packages, including willingness to learn about others and adapt accordingly; empowerment and assertiveness; mediation skills, empathy, and ethical thinking; and listening competence (cf. Arau Ribeiro, Loch, and Pál, 2016, pp. 72-73 for more a more detailed description and correspondence with each proposed module).

Another EU project, UNICollaboration at <https://uni-collaboration.eu/>, provides a platform to support the organization and running of interdisciplinary and intercultural telecollaborative teaching by helping teachers find other partners to work with their students. Led by highly experienced telecollaborative practitioners and researchers of the UNI-Collaboration Consortium, the website offers personalized workshops and seminars for those interested in introducing telecollaborative activity to their teaching and international mobility staff, promoting this effective tool for developing FL skills, ICC, and other transferrable skills. In addition to matching telecollaboration partners, the training aims to help participants with the complex processes involved in the development of appropriate learning scenarios and, especially, the suitable integration of the activities into current curricula, not limited to foreign languages. Teachers can also get involved in the bi-annual conference, first held in León, Spain, in 2014, and then in Dublin, Ireland, in 2016. The next conference, in Krakow, Poland, 2018, will focus on *Telecollaboration and virtual exchange across disciplines: in service of social inclusion and global citizenship*.

The issue of bolstering intercultural communicative competences is not exclusive to foreign language learning and the FL classroom but it is a good place to start investing in a global citizenry. Quality language teaching, with effective learning based on a clearer understanding of student beliefs about learning language, can result in plurilinguistic competence and give them motivational opportunities for

transformation through language use in real communication where they can inhabit, explore, and experience a parallel cultural reality. A heightened awareness of the place for ICC is a relatively and until quite recently silent revolution of individual teachers of foreign languages and other subjects albeit a concerted effort at reform from within the education system, sustained by UNESCO's Global Goals for Sustainable Development and these as well as other innovative European Union and international projects that are researching and promoting ICC as a fundamental area of know-how.

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